

फाइल संख्या
File No. 870/11/P/16/92-POL
खण्ड
Volume

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियाँ/पत्राचार
NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

.....को सूचीकृत की गई
Indexed on

आद्यक्षर.....
Initial

अभिलेख क/ख
Record A/B

अभिलेख ग.....में नष्ट की जाए
Record C Destroy in.....

अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट किया जाए
अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट न किया जाए

To be noted
Not to be noted in Sectional Note Book

अनु. अ. ०/अधीक्षक के आद्यक्षर

Initials of S O /Supdt.

सिपिक के आद्यक्षर.....

Initials of Clerck

विषय
SUBJECT
Netaji Subhas ch. Bose -
disappearance & -
papers reg.

CONTENTS			
NOTES	S. Nos		Pages
CORP.	From	To	From To
	1	7	1-7

CONTENTS			
NOTES	S. Nos		Pages
CORP.	From	To	From To
	1	2	1-134 141

पिछले हवाले
Previous References

बाद के हवाले
Later References

870/11/P/10/91-POL

870/11/P/10/93-POL

115/AS(64)/TS/2015

9/12/15



INTERNAL

Shri Chitta Basu, MP has written to PM requesting that a further enquiry be undertaken into the circumstances of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This matter has come up from time to time. It was last considered by the CCPA in March, 1991. The CCPA was of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or by bringing back Netaji's ashes to India at present.

A draft reply from PM has, therefore, been drafted without giving any encouragement that this can be pursued.

Alok Prasad
(Alok Prasad)
19.2.92

JS(S)

PRL SECY TO PM

PS TO PM

SS19/2
Has seen 23/3
Graduated of present position could be ascertained from MHA re "X" in MP's letter.

Dr (MS)

Dr
24/3

2/2

Pl. P. M. request a copy of the CCPA note on the subject of March 91, on a copy of the decision.

1644/JS(S)92
19/2
25/3
25/3
PRL SECY TO P.M.

Dy No. 889-6/92

Date 20/2/92

P. M. O. (NGO)

Dy. No. 348/5/92

Date 25-3-92

13/2/2007/42

Reference query below.

The following are pertinent:

- (1) At the time of the second enquiry (Khosla Commission) in 1970, MEA through the Embassy in Moscow had approached the Soviet authorities for any documents relating to Netaji. No such documents were available.
- (2) Shri V.P. Singh had acknowledged Shri Samar Guha's letter on June 7, 1990 that he was asking MEA to look into the matter (Flag A). Thereafter, Shri Guha's further letters were routinely acknowledged (Flag B & C).
- (3) In August 1990, MEA informed that the Soviet Foreign Office had received letters from Shri Samar Guha regarding documents stated to be in their possession and that they were making enquiries in the matter. No further developments had taken place (Flag D).
- (4) After the CCPA's decision in March 1991, MEA was informed in April 1991 that no further action was required by MEA (Flag E). Therefore, there have been no further developments in this regard since the CCPA decision.

Alok Prasad
(Alok Prasad)
26.3.92

PS TO PM

May kindly see, with reference to Mori Shri Bomm's letter given to PM personnel (Flag "X")

PM
26/3

PRL SECY TO P.M.
Lg No. 1542-8/92
Date 30/3/92

PA *P.V. Narayan*
27/3

Prasad *Ar*
2/4

Dir (AP)

Pop

2/4
P.A. Ti It is for consideration whether a reply should go as in the DFA. (Reference remarks of P.A. Ti in flag 'X') 2/4

Dir (AP)

May pl. ny. 3/4
alok prasad 2/4
AS to 3/4

P/f

1242/PM/AP

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

(3)

(3)

Ref letter below! A note
had been submitted on
this recently. There is not
much that can be done.
They could be advised to
call on MOS(EA)

Allah Prasad

~~PS to PM~~ Yes, please. Ths ^{28/4}

Dr AD Ramn 2/2

~~6/2~~

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Prof. Samar Guha, Member of Parliament, had written to PM, requesting that a high level investigative enquiry be instituted to go into the question of the so-called disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. *

F/'A'

Shri Samar Guha had particularly drawn attention to fresh material which may now be available in the Archives of the KGB, which may now be accessible due to the changes that have taken place in Russia.

He had also referred to documents now available in other countries such as the UK, USA, Japan and Taiwan.

Shri L.K. Advani had also written to PM on May 15, 1992, forwarding Prof. Samar Guha's earlier letter to PM. *

F/B

A similar communication was addressed to PM by Shri Chitta Basu, M.P. on February 11, 1992. *

F/C

Home Ministry, which has been dealing with this subject, has examined the matter once again and is of the view that no useful purpose could be served by holding yet another enquiry, two of which have been held in the past - the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 and the Khosla Commission in 1974.

Both the Commissions had undertaken very extensive investigations and had finally come to the conclusion that Netaji had died in the air crash at Taihoku in 1945.

If the matter is re-opened once again, there is unlikely to be any fresh light thrown on this matter. The evidence of Netaji's death is compelling and examination of archival materials in Russia and other countries is unlikely to throw up any different conclusion.

MEA has sought PM's direction whether for political reasons, an approach should be made to the countries concerned for examining their archival materials on this subject.*

F/'D'

This is not recommended since

- (i) Two high powered investigations Commissions have already conducted a thorough enquiry into this matter and come up with the same conclusion regarding Netaji's death; and

PM'S Personal Section

LY O 3668/9

PRL SECY TO P.M.

No. 3782-5/92

Date 5/8/92

87911/1/16/92

6338/33192

5-
:2:

- (ii) Publication of any fresh archival material on this subject from Russian or other sources may merely serve to keep alive this controversy.

It is, therefore, recommended that no further action need be taken on this case.

Shyam Saran
(Shyam Saran)
Joint Secretary(S)
5.8.1992

Principal Secretary / P.M.

Anwar
8/8/92

hm
20/8

JCS

24/8

SM 16/8

Re conveyed to PS.-MEA
24/8

PN Sec.
24/8
2
Please inform
all documents
cited in the margin.

the CCPA note is at ~~X~~ on the NASO
file placed below.

A reference to the CCPA discussion is
at 3/p on the linked file below

JS (M) ⁸ 14/12/12

Sum
14/12

6/12

7

6

INTERNAL

Sm 18/12

Shri Chitta Basu, MP has written to PM seeking information regarding action taken in follow up to his earlier letter for an enquiry into the circumstances of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose .

Sm 18/12

2. He had written to PM on the subject in February this year (Flag "X"/p.2/c). In view of the CCPA decision of March, 1991 that no useful purpose would be served by holding another enquiry or bringing back Netaji's ashes to India at present, a reply from PM to Shri Chitta Basu was prepared that did not offer any indication that his would be pursued (Flag "Y"-/p.4/c).

Q

3. In his present letter Shri Basu has said he has had no indication from PM, or from MEA about the action taken on PM's previous letter.

(CCPA file in No. 1)

4. In view of the circumstances, a simple acknowledgement of Shri Chitta Basu's letter is put up for consideration please.

5. This would be consistent with PM's decision of August 1992 that no further action need be taken on this case (Flag "Z"/p.4/n).

Sujata Mehta

(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary
11.12.1992

JS(M)

Do we have a record of 'Q'?

DS(S)

Thanks. In the circumstances, a simple acknowledgement would suffice from our Mos dealing with this. Please pass on to MEA advising them to respond suitably.

Genon

14/12/92

DS(S)

Sm

15.12

Sm 19/12

15 JANUARY OFFICE
No. 2440/92
Date 16/1/92

1279/DS5/6/92
11/12

①

①

A I D E - M E M O I R E

SUBJECT : MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The last official stand taken by the office of Prime Minister of India on the floor of Lok Sabha was on 3rd September, 1978 when Shri Morarji Desai stated : "Shah - Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission hold the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death following a plane Crash as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive".

The claim in support of Netaji's death consequent to the alleged accident at TAIHOKU on 18-8-1945 was based almost entirely on the evidence provided by Col. Habibur Rehman, A.D.C. to Netaji, and the Japanese doctor, T. Yoshimi. Col. Rahman maintained he accompanied Netaji on the reported fateful journey but survived the tragedy. Dr. Yoshimi submitted that he unsuccessfully treated Netaji in hospital after the reported incident.

Col. Rahman was twice interrogated by Allied Intelligence and he also appeared before the Shah-Nawaz Committee. A chart of his statements on these three occasions indicate the rather inconsistent nature of his descriptions is enclosed herewith. The Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) recorded on 25th March, 1946 : "It appears that Habibur Rahman is not willing to come out with the truth". In fact, the Intelligence Bureau, in New Delhi categorically recorded on 19-5-1946 : "Habibur-Rahman's statement is unsatisfactory. The multitude on discrepancies in accounts

of actual Air Crash as given first to Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) in Tokyo and later to C.S.D.I.C. is being taken up ".

The matter had indeed already been taken up at the highest level of the British Government on 25-10-1945. When the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom chaired a meeting to consider, among other items, what to do with Netaji in the post-war situation. The same day the British Cabinet discussed a confidential note sent by the then Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell regarding the finalisation of a policy towards "BOSE".

On 19-2-1946 the Intelligence Bureau in New Delhi communicated to its counter part in Singapore : "It is beyond doubt that he (Bose) had plans to go underground with a number of selected friends of his movement". (after the Japanese surrender in World War-II). Lord Wavell's diary of 24-8-1945 reveals : "I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhas Bose's death in air Crash is true. I suspect very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground". The then Commander of the Allied Forces in South East Asia, Lord Mountbatten's dairy indicates that he received a despatch from the British Director of Military Intelligence in Chungking after the news about the Netaji's alleged death was broadcast from Tokyo, which said : "When Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. D.M.I's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped into Thailand". British Intelligence further believed that the Governor of the Afghan Province of khost had been informed by the Soviet Ambassordor in Kabul that there were many Congress refugees in Moscow after the War and Bose was included in their number. The assessment being: "There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories".

All the above information casting doubts on the veracity of

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Netaji's death following a plane crash have surfaced in the mid-1970s and after as a result of declassification of British Government records under the 30 year rule and were, therefore, not presented as evidence before either the Shah-Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission.

Dr. Yoshimi's version of events also varies between three depositions he made on the subject. A chart highlighting these are also enclosed herewith. Further more, there does not appear to be any documentary evidence of a plane crash having taken place at Taihoku on 18-8-1945. Besides, the cremation certificate said to be connected with Netaji's body is, strangely, in the name of a Ichiro Okura " a non-staff member of the Japanese Armed Forces". The birth day of the deceased in the certificate is given as 9th April, 1900. Netaji was born on 23-1-1897. Also, the cause of death is given as a "heart-attack". If Dr. Yoshimi's statement is correct, Netaji could only have died of third degree burns. The date of death in the certificate is given as 19-8-1945. According to Dr. Yoshimi, Netaji died on the night, August 18-8-1945. It has never been satisfactorily explained how the cremation certificate in question had any link with Netaji. If the intention of the then Japanese authorities was to conceal the story of Netaji's death, this did not tally with the Japanese Government's official announcement of his demise to the world.

P. C. Kar, an official in the Governor's House in Bengal when R. G. Casey was the Governor, claimed that the monitoring service at the Governor's House picked up three broadcasts of Netaji on the 31 metre band in December, 1945 and January and February, 1946. A note on this item was put up before Mr. Casey. This may be verified from records existing either with the Government of India or the official Records Office in Britain.

u

On 22-7-1946 Khurshed Naoroji, one of Mahatma Gandhi's Secretaries, replying to a letter from Louis Fischer to Gandhiji, : remarked : "At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country." It is intriguing that almost a year after the reported air crash at Taihoku, Gandhiji's camp were apprehending Netaji's return to India from the Soviet Union instead of being convinced of his death. A photo copy of the original hand-written letter by Shri Naoroji is also enclosed herewith.

As late as February, 1954 the American magazine "National Republic" carried an article by Elliot Erikson, which asserted : "There is a strong possibility that Bose is alive. Numerous people report seeing him after his death, including a nurse in a Field Hospital who treated him for minor injuries. His body was never found and Allied Intelligence officials could find no evidence that he died in the wreckage of the plane he was supposed to have fallen in".

The British Government's conclusions on the crash incident was : "Bose had been trying to persuade the Japanese to allow him to go to Manchuria since October, 1944. Reference should be made to (Japanese Intelligence) Hikari Kikan's telegram at the time Bose arrived in Siagon. General Isoda (Chief of Hikari Kikan) was also there, and this fact may be significant that there was a plan on the part of Hikari Kikan to allow Bose to escape and to publish a false story regarding his death. This would have been the ideal place for Isoda to put into operation any such plan..... these are part of a colossal and well executed deception manoeuvre.

This file of Telegrams (left behind by the Japanese) along with numerous other documents must have been purposely left for the British to find them" (H. Q. Main File 10 Misc/INA-273/Sub : Subhas Chandra Bose Page - 10).

Netaji's plan to go to Soviet Union after the War was also confirmed by Col. Tada of the Japanese South East Asia Command. whose statement was produced before the Khosla Commission. Col. Tada said : "After end of the War when Japan surrendered, Field Marshal "Terauchi (Supreme Commander Japanese SEA Command) took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him (Tada) to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory, - all help will be given to him. It was arranged that Chandra Bose will fly in the plane in which (Gen.) Shidei was going. Gen. Shidei will look after Chandra Bose up to Dairen and there after he (Bose) could fall back on his own resources to contact Russians. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibilities in the eyes of the Allies".

E. Bhaskaran, Confidential Assistant to Netaji in Bangkok, who lives in Madras, corroborates that a message was sent by Netaji in 1945 to the Japanese to convey to Moscow of his desire to go to the Soviet Union. Naeemur-Rahman, son of Habibur Rahman, who resides in Islamabad, claims that his father told him that he had accompanied Netaji on a visit to Tokyo two or three months before the alleged crash in course of such a meeting had taken place between Netaji and Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo to finalise plans of the proposed trip to Russia.

Documents on Netaji categorised as "top Secret" are in the possession of the USSR National Archives, according to Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow. These may now be made available to genuinely interested parties in view of the prevailing policy of Glasnost in the Soviet Union.

(b)

N A T I O N A L R E - P U B L I C

(A monthly Magazine of fundamental Americanism - February, 1954)

Jawaharlal Nehru and the Red Threat to India by Elliot Erikson

The Indian people are pretty much anti-west by experience as well as by propoganda. England was for them the traditional enemy and oppressor. America had bases in India during the war and when mob-fighting broke out against the English, Americans became involved as a matter of course. To the Indian it is easy to picture American as simply the successor to the throne of English imperialism. Nehru, who knows the Indian mind well, undoubtedly thinks that a strong alliance with the west would mean a disaster.

But the Communist world is able to put much pressure on him. The Military threat to India has been over-estimated especially by circles in the Indian Government, who would like American money without having to give up their present anti-American position. True, Tibet no longer exists as a buffer between the Sub-continent and China. Afganistan could fall in hours. But the Chinese or the Russian Military invasion still would have to chazzel itself through a handful of small bases and over rugged mountain roads. Armour would find its gasoline supplies hard to furnish and easy to block. Infantry could be bottled up in the Himalayas.

Already, English jets and facilities for maintaining them exist in Pakistan. The fields could be swiftly filled with American Sabers and with tactical atomic bombs that could possibly make the Rusio-Chinese invasion of India, a debacle.

The political threat is a different story. Perhaps a major element in the menace is the mystery of the supposedly dead leader Chandra Bose.

(7)

During the war Chandra Bose volunteered his services to the Japanese and led a liberation army which was supposed to help Nippon in its invasion of India. The army accomplished nothing but Chandra Bose increased his standing as a National hero. Before the war he was the Arch-priest of violence in the overthrow of the British. Despite the opposition of both Nehru and Gandhi, he got himself elected as leader of the Congress Party.

Now, for this work with the Japanese Bose is considered a hero by millions, who rioted in the abortive 1942 revolt against the British and who were put down with tanks, arms and tear gas. Countless families have but true pictures - those of Gandhi and Chandra Bose. Numerous Congress Party officials, even those who strongly opposed Chandra Bose and all he stands for, say that if the unpredictable rebel lived to-day, he, not Nehru, would rule India.

There is a strong possibility that Bose is alive. At the end of the War, when the Japanese front collapsed in Burma, Bose, if he showed himself, ran a great risk of being prosecuted as an international war-criminal. He was supposed to have escaped from Burma by plane and died in a crash.

Yet, numerous people report seeing him after his death, including a nurse in a field-hospital who treated him for minor injuries. His body was never found and Allied Intelligence Officials could find no evidence that he died in the wreckage of the plane he was supposed to have fallen in.

The rumour persists that he soon took another plane, this time to Yenan, the then Capital of Communist China. At that time India was not yet free and Bose could have been hunting for a new possible enemy of England, who would precipitate another war that might collapse the British Empire. World Communism would then be an excellent candidate.

...,...3/-

(8)

If Bose is still held prisoner in the Communist China, he could be strung as leader of a Red Liberation of India from Capitalism. The most strongly anti-communist Chinese leaders admit that if such an event happened, Indian resistance to China would collapse immediately.

The internal political threat is a more tangible menace than rumours about a dead man, but the geography of this treat is more important than the numbers.

Before the last Elections Nehru adopted a moderate policy. He was quite strict in showing his neutrality and he always was a sincere believer of peace. In India proper, he talked socialism but listened attentively to his conservative advisers. He believed very strongly that China could be encouraged to break away from Moscow, if China saw it had a strong block of Asian friends to balance against the accidents.

China seized Tibet and the Indian elections threatened his nation with near dissolution. Nehru had to insure support among his own people, and simultaneously to try as much internal peace as he could from Moscow.

From the Kremlin, India is perhaps more useful as a willing panda than an obvious chattel. Nehru undoubtedly gables that the pilot-hero will see if that way and Malenkov so far acts as if he does.

If such is the true set of motives for Nehru's policy, does he gable correctly or by strengthening communism, does he lay the Ernerstone for his and India's political tomb".

(Internationaler Biographischer Pressdienst.
(International Biographic Press Service).

SUBHAS CHANDRA BASU

The fact is being gradually embodied from the contemporary events that Subhas Chandra Basu, the Indian Revolutionist, who was declared dead in an air-crash after the Second World-War, is waiting for an opportunity to hold his grip over the political back-ground of Asia.

BABU BOSE : MANN HINTER DEN FRONTEN. (MAN BEHIND THE FRONT.)

There has been a nuclear explosion by the side of India in October last, which is of a political nature and experimental only. But it has been inevitably resulted in. It came to be known within a few days by a radio announcement that Subhas Chandra Basu, the lost Indian Revolutionist, might deliver a speech over the Communist Radio of Peking. Of course, nothing has been heard after this mysterious announcement. But nobody said that he had a doubt that Shri Basu was actually alive. One thing more ; just at that time, when such a type of epochmaking political explosion took place at the north of Himalayas, Shri Nehru who was once a colleague and at present in opposition to Shri Basu was found to be staying in Washington at the invitation of President Truman. Is this just a sudden event ? Most of the Americans hoped that Shri Nehru would keep himself mum about this. Shri Nehru has done this. Of course he has said that he is ready to go to Moscow also if he be invited to go there. Did he understand from the outset of this incident that this event was a prologue for the advent of a man with a massive nuclear power ? As Lenin, in the revolutionary moment of 1917, reached Russia singling out Germany as his destination, Shri Basu also has once more adopted that measure for the interest of India.

It was this Basu who appeared in Tokyo directly within a year after his meeting with Hitler in May, 1942. The mystery how this dauntless expedition became possible in this war-ravaged Eastern Hemisphere of the world, has not yet come to light. But it was sure that Hitler had helped him by providing longranged aeroplanes, U-Boats, Blockade-brakers and many

other war-materials. Shri Basu, perhaps, considered the U-Boat expedient for his journey. The way of his disappearance from India secretly, in January, 1941, was dangerous too. Only at the age of sixteen, school student Shri Basu had once left for the Himalayas as a lonely and helpless visitor and roamed about from temple to temple in search of the eternal truth. This anti-British man had acquired the art of disguise accurately, while he was a student at the University of Cambridge. During his stay in Vienna between 1932 and 1935, he had acquired the art of face make-up from an Indian residing abroad. A picture, entitled "The Tiger of Ishanpur" was being prepared in Germany under the direction of that man at that time. This skill became useful to him, when, in February, 1941, he succeeded to reach Kabul with a view to meet the German Ambassador in Afghanistan throwing dust in the vigilant eyes of the Indo-British rulers, inspite of the warrant of arrest against him. At last the Italian Embassy assigned an Italian name to him and gave him a false passport as an Italian national.

Ten years before this incident, he was once a guest of Mussolini during his journey from Vienna to Rome. But this time, he was eager to meet Hitler and Ribbentrop as soon as possible. His first destination was Berlin. He crossed the border of Germany as an assistant of a German Engineer and arranged for visiting Moscow as a foreign tourist. The journey to Moscow through the Caucasus was decided, be it well or worse. The Indian Shri Basu did not know Italian but could understand Russian a little. But the Soviet people thought him to be a veteran through his gesture and posture. He did not utter a single word in the Passport Department and had spent a week in a comfortable room of a train taking, tea, milk, vodka and a large amount of beef. This was a matter of immense mental strength for a Caste-Hindu like him. But nothing such was improper to the superstition-less revolutionist Shri Basu. It was known to the Russians that he deeply studied Bolshevism as well as Facism. And both Mussolini and Stalin were his ideals. So, Kremlin greeted him warmly. Not a single word was uttered against him from Moscow, when he extended his support to Hitler and the Japanese. In the summer of 1933, he pronounced that no Asian could lend his support in favour of the Nazi Policy. But in 1942, when he put forward the proposal for the freedom-movement to the nation, he was convinced that Germany and Japan, the enemy of the British, would naturally lend their support to the Indians fighting for freedom.

But he did not find days well in Berlin. He went on waiting for months in the secluded room of a hotel with the hope to get some response. But he became utterly disappointed when he saw that the Soviet Union was attacked by war-monger Hitler. He remarked, "In this world war, this event is the gross error". Shri Basu then put some faith in Japan only. The participation of Japan in the Second World War suddenly brought about an unimaginable change in the South-East Asia, and, Shri Basu had played a great role in this political game of the world. He invaded Singapore and formed the Indian Revolutionary Government there. Accompanied by the Azad Hindu Fauz equipped with Japanese arms and ammunitions, he marched towards India through Burma. This was well-known to him, as he had passed through it as a Prisoner many times on his way to the Mandalay Jail.

This Revolutionary Army marching towards the Indian border had not been taken by the Indians as traitors, rather, was welcomed as heroes. And their 'Leader' was Shri Basu himself.

There is a proverb in India, "A person who is declared dead before his death gets a prolonged life". There was, beforehand, a news at the outset of the last war, that Shri Basu had died in an air-crash. This False-News brought a lot of garlands and condolence-letters to the family of this man, who was already officially declared as a traitor, from every corner of the country. In spite of this, Gandhi could not agree with Mr. Nehru, the then leader of India, on this discussion. Gandhi remarked about this dangerous man that, "Whatever he may be, he is not an enemy of our country. He has helped to a great extent to get the freedom - movement advanced". Having heard this sad news in April, 1942, Gandhi wrote in a condolent letter to the mother of Shri Basu, "He is the great and heroic son of India". But after a few days, his voice was heard over radio.

Shri Basu has been again announced to be dead after the Second World War. This announcement is also the result of the joint proclamation of the Government and the Enquiry Commission of the Allied Powers. Though in a Broadcast from Tokyo, it has been announced that Shri Basu was wounded and was later dead in an air-crash on his way to Formosa from the Taihoko airport, none in the world has paid any heed to this news. No one in India has at all believed it. On 21st October, 1946, after a year

(12)

of this accident, the Inquiry Commission of the Allied Powers proclaimed the decision that Shri Basu had actually passed away on 18th August, 1945, in a military hospital in Formosa. But man like Gandhi declared later, that, according to their views, Shri Basu was still alive. The Government of India said that they could not declare Shri Basu to be dead. The elder brother of Shri Basu has remarked at a National Conference of India, "I know nothing about this". No news was collected from the citizens of Japan who were in Tokyo, till the day when the American soldiers entered Tokyo. The bodyguard of Shri Basu saw a large and mysterious box with him on the day of his last departure.

No one has seen the body to be burning. Many experienced men of the East-Asia know that Japan announced many eminent persons to be "dead by air-crash" at the time of surrender. Subhas Chandra Basu, at the age of fifty, was man with good health, psychologically strong and a fore-seeing politician. Immediately after his joining with the Japanese, he had a doubt as to the result on the joint expedition of the Japanese army and his army. It can not be ignored that this strong and foreseeing man did not think for future. Was it now known to him how Moscow would utilise the Renaissance of Nationalism in Asia in the greater political game at present or in future ?

In 1945, when a chaos was prevailing over the whole of China on the victory of the Allied Powers, he could have easily enter into the Soviet Border in exchange of Immense gold kept with him and leave for Moscow in a special plane to keep himself underground in a lonely place there. Then what does the news about his secret journey by a Steamer to Irish Free State mean, of which the British Port-authorities were not at all aware, yet Mr. Galahar, the leader of the British Communist Party has referred to on the occasion of a discussion on the freedom-movement of India ?

Millions of people in India still believe that there will be a change after an epoch, the result of which will make this country once more a heavenly one. BUDDHA-FACED, VETERAN YOGI SHRI BASU WILL, PERHAPS, ONCE BECOME THE FREEDOM-GIVER OF NOT ONLY INDIA BUT ALSO ASIA.

13

Another important event was his journey to Switzerland. Lenin had himself in Switzerland. The people of the world know the political thoughts of Shri Basu.

His immense influence has spread all over India. If he remains alive and that is to be sure possible - the whole world, then, one day, will hear again his speech.

28.10.1949 - INTERPRESS. INTERNATIONAL BIOGRAPHIC PRESS
SERVICE.
PUBLICATION CODE 335/1949.

(M)

Copy of a letters from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please don't think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison and he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with them because they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action and when the time comes, he will take the country with him.

The Socialists are merely implimenting the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances, We must go to the people and forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly and we remain with the people to share their joys and sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say nonkilling. We have to put non-violence in to practice and not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals and not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Govt. and the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress and the nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them up to fight the Congress and will have to deal with them now. They are going underground and if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia, India is not satisfied

(15)

with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely and absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first world war. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank and file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them and they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases a court martial in the Indian army on individuals and platoons during the last war both in India and abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army and minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us: but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India and of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,
Khurshed

(10)

22/7/66

Dear Fischer.

I enclose a copy of
Gandhi's letter as desired by
you. But please don't think
that he is not with us.

I have been with him since
my release from prison & he
put the Constitutive Programme
before the country which was
overlooked by the Working
Committee when they decided on
constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues
of the Working Committee he has gone
with them but they were not
prepared to go with him but
Gandhi is essentially a man
of action & when the time

(17)

3

be we

The socialist do not want violence
any more than does Gandhi but
what is practical now violence
we say non-killing. We have to
put non-violence into practice
not just go talking of truth non-violence
People want deeds not words
For twenty years we've talked on
the ideal but the practical
side for us today is Panchayat
Raj. Our people are very patient
but even their patience is
wearing thin.

All Congress ^{other} nationalist minded
people are one but our headache
is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The
foreign Govt has built them

(18)

4.

up to fight the Congress we'll
have to deal with the new. They
are going underground & if before the
time the Allies (including Russia) have
a scrap with Soviet Russia, India
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is no longer of the same temper as
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Besides the disaffection amongst
the Indian Officers & the rank file,
a revolutionary group has been working
amongst them. They are pro Russian.
There have been many cases of
seditious marking on individuals & places.

19

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abroad. There have been mass
desertions in the regular army
+ minor scraps in the N. E. India
at the beginning of the ^{last} war.
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If Bose comes with the help of
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20/

6.

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joined the Allies she lost cash.
However the bitterness towards
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Hand life is not touched with
the international reactions but
we can't afford to neglect the
signs of the time specially when
it concerns our freedom.

Charles

It finished

21/

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S BROADCAST AFTER THE ALLEGED AIR CRASH

1. NETAJI'S MESSAGE : DECEMBER 26 , 1945

" I am at present under the shelter of a great World Powers. My heart is burning for India I will go to India on the crest of a Third World War. The Third World War is coming soon. It may come in ten years, or even earlier I will sit in judgement upon those who are trying my men at Red Fort."

2. NETAJI'S MESSAGE : JANUARY 1, 1946

" I am giving a very short speech about the Indian National week to India for my brothers and sisters in India.

We must get freedom within two years. The British Imperialism is broken down and it must concede independence to India. India will not be free by means of "Non-violence". But I am quite respectful to Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

The battle of freedom is not easy. But I can assure you that we will get freedom of India very soon. I know that many Indians are waiting for me. I am quite sure to be successful within two years.

I have been informed against the news of the police firing at Calcutta. Many students are dead. My eyes were full of tears when I heard it. I know that man is mortal and the most glorious death is one when a person dies to save his own country. The Indians who shed their blood for freedom could not die.

My first order to my revolutionary friends in India is that they will hold a great meeting to commemorate the martyrs on the 25th inst".

3. NETAJI'S MESSAGE : FEBRUARY, 1946

" THIS IS SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE SPEAKING, JAI HIND. IT IS FOR THE THIRD TIME I AM ADDRESSING MY INDIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS AFTER JAPAN'S SURRENDER.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND IS GOING TO SEND MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE AND TWO OTHER MINISTERS FROM LONDON WITH NO OBJECT IN VIEW OTHER THAN LET THE BRITISH IMPERIALISM A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT FOR ALL MEANS TO SUCK THE TOTAL BLOOD OF INDIA. NOW, AMONG THESE THREE LONDONERS, ONE HAD TO GO BACK FROM INDIA WITH A BAFFLED HEART ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO.

IT IS AS A SORT OF PRECAUTION, I AM ADVISING INDIANS NOT TO PAY ANY HEED TO THESE IMPOSTERS. I AM SURE THAT MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE WILL HAVE TO SUBMIT AN ADEQUATE EXPLANATION FOR ALL THE MISHAPS AND DISASTERS OF INDIA BY THIS TIME. THE UNDERLYING INTENTION OF THIS ENDEAVOUR BY THE THREE IS NOTHING BUT TO SET A NEW TRAP OF DEPENDENCE IN WHICH INDIA MAY FALL VERY SOON. SO MY EARNEST APPEAL TO THE INDIANS IS THAT THEY SHOULD IN NO CASE HEAR THEM BUT CONTINUE REVOLUTION AGAINST WHAT IS CONTRARY TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM. I THINK MANY OTHER VICEROYS AND MINISTERS WILL EMBARK ON INDIA WITH THE SAME MOTTO FOR KEEPING US IN THE DARK DAWN OF DEPENDENCE. BUT MY INDIANS SHOULD NEVER HEAR THEM.

AGAIN I AM ANNOUNCING THAT WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TWO YEARS INDIA WILL HAVE THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE. WE WILL HAVE COMPLETE FREEDOM BY THAT TIME AND I WILL ALSO COME BACK IN THE YEAR 1947.

MANY OF THE INDIANS HAVE DECLARED ME AS THE 'NETAJI' OF INDIA BUT I AM TELLING THEM THAT I AM NOTHING BUT AN HUMBLE SON LIKE OTHERS OF 'BHARAT MATA' AND AM NOT ALL WORTHY OF BEING THE SAME.

THE BRITISH IMPERIALISM WILL HAVE ITS UTTER DESTRUCTION AND IT IS NOW COMMENCED. YOU SEE THEY HAVE COME DOWN TO UTTER SHAME BY KILLING OUR CHILDREN ONLY FOR HAVING THEIR IMPERIALISM STILL ABOVE.

23/

ANNEXURE - 'A'

**TOP SECRET 4 SIGNALS OF HIKARI KIKAN REGARDING MOVEMENTS OF
NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE**

SEATIC Section
Intelligence Assault Unit.
7th Ind Div SLF SIAM

24th September, 1945.

Subject : Translation of messages for death of Bose found in a file of reports belonging to the HIKARI KIKAN.

"TOP SECRET"

1. HIKARI KIKAN SIGNAL RE : "T" (TN : Bose)

August 18

To : OC HIKARI KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff, Southern Army,
Southern Army Signal 303.

Today at 1700 hrs (17 Aug) 'T' with Lt. Gen Shidel
and others, left here for TOKYO VIA FORMOSA and DAIREN.

Inform Indian Community of this

Depending on circumstances, I expect to return in two or three days.
(from OC KIKAN)

2. TO : OC KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff Southern Army.

Southern Army Staff II Signal 66 20th Aug. "TOP SECRET"

"T" while on the way to the capital, as a result of an accident to this
Aircraft at TAIHOKU at 1400 hrs on the 18th was seriously injured and
died at midnight on the same date. His body has been flown to TOKYO
by the Formosan Army

I have thanked the Formosan Army, for their kindness. Further I have
asked that proof of his death in the plane accident remains, photographs
etc. - be collected

As for the centre, I am getting Staff Officer TADA, who leaves SAIGON on the 20th to take up an appointment, to provide them with a detailed report. I wish secrecy to be maintained in handling the matter.

3. HIKARI KIKAN SIGNAL RE : "T"

24 Aug. 1945

TO : OC MALAY Branch (TN : not clear)

OC SAIGON EMBARKATION POINT

Chief of Staff, Southern Army.

FROM: OC HIKARI KIKAN

Re: Death of 'T' please ensure that Indian communities are informed of the DOMEI despatch reporting 'T', death.

Document 128

4. HIKARI Message 1020

27 Aug. 1945

TO: CHIEF OF Staff, Southern Army

FROM : OC HIKARI KIKAN

Request urgently the report on the later progress of Col. 'HABIB RAHMAN'.

N.B. These messages were found in the ordinary file in their proper place and numbered and docketed in the usual manner. There was nothing suspicious about them and they did not appear to be interpolations.

DM

pp S. Hyder

Capt.

OC Section

Signals Nos. 4, 5, and 6

SEATIC DOCUMENT 128

ANNEXURE - 'B'

CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENT OF DR. T. YOUSHIKI

DR. T. YOUSHIKI

STATEMENT ON 19.10.46 BEFORE
(THE 'ALLIED INTELLIGENCE')

DEPOSITION FROM 21.5.56 TO 23.5.56
(BEFORE SHAH NAWAZ COMMITTEE)

DEPOSITION ON 24.4.71
(BEFORE G.D. KHOSLA)

1. On 18th August at 5 P.M., Bose with 6 or 7 persons were brought to the Hospital
(No mention about a Telephone message of crash)

On 18th at about 2 P.M. received Telephone message from Airport intimating plane crash. 20 minutes thereafter injured person brought including Bose. 13 or 14 persons were brought.

Little before noon received Telephone call from the Airport. 7 persons, including 2 Indians, arrived at the Hospital at about 12-30 P.M.

2. He personally cleaned Bose's injuries with oil and dressed them.

DR. TSURUTA (not he applied) white ointment against burns and bandaged.

He treated his burns all over his body. He was bandaged all over his body after applying plaster.

3. Bose was suffering from extensive burns over the whole body - so much so that very little was left of his identificatin marks (Still this Japanese identified Netaji after 11 years of the crash when shown Netaji's photo (fully dressed) by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee).

He was severely burnt. It took a greyish colour like ash. Even his heart had burnt. He had 3rd degree burns. His face and eyes were swollen. He was in high fever; his temperature was 39° centigrade. His pulse rate was 120 per minute. His heart condition was also weak.
(Can any one remember all these details (even pulse rate) about a patient after 11 years and of whom no record was kept).

Chandra Bose suffered general burns all over the body. His heart not burnt. That is a mistake.

(He signed the earlier statement after verifying the same). His burn was that of 3rd degree.
(Can anyone remain conscious after having 3rd degree burns ?)

His features still remained when he was brought to the Hospital, there where no bruises, no swelling, only the colour of the skin changed. Later on his face swelled. He admits that his earlier statement about swelling was incorrect.

STATEMENT ON 19.10.46 BEFORE
(THE 'ALLIED INTELLIGENCE')

DEPOSITION FROM 21.5.56 TO 23.5.56
(BEFORE SHAH NAWAZ COMMITTEE)

DEPOSITION ON 24.4.71
(BEFORE G.D. KHOSLA)

4. After 9 P.M. he was sinking into unconsciousness - he was in coma never regained consciousness and died at 11 P.M.

"It was shortly after 8 P.M. that Mr. Bose breathed his last". Tried to give artificial respiration. (Never mentioned earlier).

He was conscious for 7/8 hours, Mr. Bose survived in the Hospital for 12 hours and died in his presence. His statement before Shah Nawaz Khan Committee that Netaji died shortly after 8 P.M., he thinks to be incorrect.

5. After 10 day's (i.e. on 28th) treatment Habibur Rahaman went to HOKUTO Army Hospital taking Netaji's ashes with him.

Habib left Hospital on the 30th August with Netaji's body and never came back. He does not know where he went. He does not remember how that Habib took the ashes.

Habib left with Netaji's body the day after his death. He never came back. The dead body was removed on the 19th morning (when confronted with his earlier statement he said that he was not sure which of his own statements was correct).

6. (Nothing remembered)

In case of severe burns of 3rd degree, the blood gets thicker and there is high pressure of the heart. Blood needs to be let out. So the Doctor himself let out approximately 200 c.c. of blood and transfused 400 c.c. of blood into him.

The Doctor gave blood transfusion. No. blood transfusion was given by a Surgeon from Army H.Q. whose name he did not remember. He did not let out blood from Bose's body. Even in 3rd degree burns blood transfusion possible without letting out blood. Blood transfusion was not given by him. He admits that his statement before Shah Nawaz Committee was wrong. He was present when blood transfusion was given.

Com/5(B) 25-9-73

SEAL

No.	Name of Disease	Date of Death Date of Permission Date of Cremation	Occupation	Sex	Permanent Domicile Present Address	Name of Deceased	Date of Birth	Applicant Address	Name
2640									
2641	Heart Attack	August 19, 1945 August 21, 1945 August 22, 1945	Non-Regular Staff member of Armed Forces	Male	No. 1, 2-Chome Dogenzaka, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, No. 2, 3-Chome Nogi-machi, Taipei City	ICHIRO OKURA	April 9, 1900.	Unit No. 21123	Taneyoshi Yoshimi
2642		Place of Burial & Cremation. Municipal Crematory			Examined and authenticated by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.				
2643					Sd/-				
2644					YASUTERU ASAHINA Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Archives Section)				

It is certified that the above statement, abstracted from document on cremation permit is correct and true.

July 14, 1956.
Bureau of Health and Hygiene,
Taipei Municipal Office. (SEALED)

THE ALLEGED DEATH NEWS OF NETAJI CIRCULATED BY DIFFERENT NEWS AGENCIES

TO O C KIKAN

FROM : Chief of Staff Southern Army
Southern Army Staff II
SIGNAL 66, 20th Aug. '45

Announcement by
DOMEI NEWS AGENCY on
23rd August, 1945

Statement issued by
Information Service of India-Tokyo
Published on August 24, 1945 in
ASAHI HSIMBUM

"TOP SECRET"

28/27
a) "T" while on his way to the Capital (TOKYO), as a result of an accident to this Aircraft at TAIHOKU at 14.00 hrs. on the 18th was seriously injured and died at MIDNIGHT on the

Mr. Bose left Singapore on August 16 by Air for Tokyo for talks with the Japanese Government. He was seriously injured when his plane crashed at TAINOKU air field

Mr. Chandra Bose met an accident in the outskirts of Tokyo airport at 14.00 hrs. on August 18 and sustained severe injuries.

b) His body has been flown to Tokyo by the Formosan Army.

He was given treatment in Hospital in JAPAN where he died at midnight.

He was treated at the Hospital the spot but passed away at night on August 18,

c) NO MENTION

SEATIC SECTION
Intelligence Assault Unit
7th Ind Div ALF SIAM
24th September, 1945

Lt. General TSUNAMASA SHIDEI was instantaneously killed, and Col. Habib-Ur-Rahman and four other Japanese officers were injured in the crash.

Col. Habibur Rahman, Mr. Bose's who had been accompanying sustained a severe injury and Genl. Shidei killed instantly. Officers suffered serious otherwise minor injuries.

CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS OF COL. HABIBUR RAHMAN

Point	C.I.C. (Figgess) Report dated 29.9.45	C.S.D.I.C. Report No. 1156 dt. 31.12.45	Before S.N. Khan Committee on 6.4.56
	A	B	C
A.	He revealed that he had no knowledge of how Bose escaped or was removed from the plane.	On B.1269's suggestion Bose changed his course and moved towards the front, etc.	Netaji turned towards me. I said, "Please get out through the front: there is no way in rear". (Augay say nikaleay peechay say rasta nahin hay)".
B.	He stated that upon alighting from the plane he noticed his own coat on fire.	B.1269 wore knee-boots, serge breaches and a serge tunic: his clothes were not burnt at all. (He wears them now at CSDIC (I)).	"My clothes did not catch fire."
C.	He then saw "Bose lying by the plane with his clothing afire".	B.1269 noticed Bose in a standing position about 12 yards away with smoke coming from his garments.	"The moment I got out, I saw him about 10 yards ahead of me standing and looking in the opposite direction to mine towards the West. "His clothes were on fire".
D.	Rahman went to the aid of Bose and removed his burning clothing.	Bose was endeavouring to remove his clothes.	"I rushed and I experienced great difficulty in unfastening his bush-shirt belt. His trousers were not so much on fire and it was not necessary to take them off."
E.	He added that the seat Bose occupied in the aircraft was beside a petrol tank and at the time of the crash the tank exploded, spreading the burning fuel on Bose's clothing.	B.1269 stated that Bose's clothes may have been drenched in petrol, as Bose sat under a petrol tank in the plane.	"There was more fire on bush-shirt. All the same, his trousers had caught fire but my own impression is that since he was sitting in a squatting way in the plane, the petrol spread more on the upper portion of his (Netaji's) clothes and that is why the fire was more on the upper portion."
F.	It was later determined that Bose received serious injuries about the head and neck in addition to his severe burns.	Bose had sustained serious burns all over his body and when he was laid on the ground B.1269 noticed 2 or 3 fractures on the skull.	"I laid him down on the ground and I noticed a very deep cut on his head probably on the left side. His face had been scorched by heat and his hair also caught fire and and signed. The cut on his head was a long one about 4 inches long. He was bleeding profusely. It was a straight cut. I tried to stop his bleeding with my handkerchief."
G.	Rahman received two lacerations on his head, one on his right leg and burns of his hands, arms and face.	Besides burns on the hands, B.1269's face was slightly burnt on the right side, and he also received two minor wounds on the head and one lacerated wound on the right leg below the knee.	"... my both hands were badly burnt. As I came through the fire, the right side of my face was burnt and I noticed I had received a cut on forehead which was bleeding and also the right side of my right knee was also bleeding profusely as it has hit some hard substance. The head cut was caused due to my hitting the floor as the plane crashed. "My clothes did not catch fire. My hands were burnt very badly in the attempt to take of Netaji's clothes."

29

Point	C.I.C.(Figess) Report dated 29.9.45 A	C.S.D.I.C. Report No.1156 dt.31.12.45 B	Before S. N. Khan Committee on 6.4.56 C
H.	NO MENTION.	Bose's body was kept in the room where he died, and B.1269 remained there all the night together with Japanese guards and some patients. B.1269 states that he did not keep any 'souvenirs' as none was available on the person of Bose after the accident - all their luggage having been burnt on the plane.	"I sat up the whole night in that room because it was quite hot and I could not sleep. The body was there and a Japanese sentry was guarding it."
I.	On August 20, 1945 Bose was removed from the Hospital and his remains were placed in a box provided by the Japanese.	A coffin made of sandal wood was brought to the Hospital and Bose's body was placed therein.	"On August 20, 1945, I was informed that arrangements for the cremation had been made and soon after the coffin was put in a Japanese Military lorry or ambulance after arrival at the crematorium Netaji's coffin was removed from the lorry Body was taken out of the coffin and was taken up by the Japanese inside the crematorium."
J.	Rahman requested the remains be flown to Singapore or Tokyo. Major Nagatomo informed Rahman on August 21, 1945 that it would be impossible to transport the remains by air due to the size of the box in which Bose was placed. Major Nagatomo suggested to Rahman at that time that the body be cremated and Rahman, after careful consideration, agreed.	The Japanese staff colonel visited B.1269 who requested him to make arrangements for the dead body to be taken to Singapore. B.1269 was informed that as the coffin was too large it was not possible to transport it by plane and the idea had therefore to be dropped. B.1269 then suggested that the body be cremated as the Japanese had said they were unable to preserve it.	"I told this Japanese officer that he should go and inform the Headquarters and request them on my behalf that I would like Netaji's body to be transported to Singapore where all our Government and Army Officers were present. On the morning of the August 19, at about 9-00 o'clock I repeated my request to the Japanese Army staff officer that the arrangements for the transportation of Netaji's body to Singapore should be made."
K.	According to Rahman, photos were taken at the scene of the crash and also at the Hospital after the death of Bose. The photos are at present in possession of the "Japanese War Office" in Tokyo.	".... two photographs of Bose were taken, one with the body fully covered inside the coffin, and the other with the lid of the coffin closed and B.1269 seated by its side. Fruits and incense were placed on the coffin."	"The face (Netaji's) could be recognised by me. ... The photo of his body (excluding the face) was taken at my request I learnt that photos of the burnt plane had also been taken I cannot exactly say why the photographs were not taken on August 18 and 19, 1945."
L.	NO MENTION.	On August 22, 1945 at about 10.00 hrs. Bose's body was removed to a crematorium where a Japanese cleric who spoke excellent English, performed a religious ceremony. After this, Bose's body was taken out of the coffin and placed in a furnace. The door of the furnace was locked and the key	"On August 20, 1945, I (Rahman) was informed that arrangements for the cremation had been made and soon after the coffin was put in a Japanese military lorry or ambulance. The coffin was escorted by two lorries full of Japanese soldiers and staff of the Hospital and Japanese officers in four staff cars. There were also a few civilians present. In one of the cars, a

Point	C.I.C(Figgress) Report dated 29.9.45 A	C.S.D.I.C. Report No.1156 dt.31.12.45 B	Before S. N. Khan Committee on 6.4.56 C
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was kept by a Japanese Military officer. B.1269 had declined to take charge of the key as he was at the time running a temperature and was in a very depressed state of mind. The body was then set alight by the cleric's assistant. At the cremation there were about 30 Japanese medical and military officers present. B.1269 does not recollect any of their names. B.1269 states that he was the only Indian present at that time. About half an hour after the body had been set alight, B.1269 left the crematorium with others.

Japanese General (probably garrison commander) also came. As far as I recollect one car was leading forward by the lorry carrying Netaji's coffin, followed by escorts and other cars. I was in one of the cars in the rear. After arrival at the crematorium Netaji's coffin was removed from the lorry by the Japanese soldiers and the escort paid compliments according to their customs and all those present also paid compliments. As far as I remember a Japanese priest was also present at that time. Body was taken out of the coffin and was taken up by the Japanese inside the crematorium.

".... The body of Netaji was taken out of the coffin and was placed on a stretcher like thing, into the incinerator. The door of the incinerator was locked and I kept the key with me overnight. This was approximately between 11 and 12 noon. I was brought back to the Hospital from the crematorium after the fire was set on"

"On the morning of August 21, 1945, I went to the crematorium accompanied by two or three Japanese including the civilian and opened the lock of the incinerator with key which was with me. I was present and I saw the ashes of Netaji's body inside it. We had a wooden urn to collect the ashes. We collected some ashes from the head side, nearest to the door, and placed them in the urn. I remember distinctly that a little piece of gold, which was from the filling of one of Netaji's teeth was removed and placed in the urn."

M NO MENTION

On August 23, 1945, B.1269 in the Company of the cleric and staff major and 3 or 4 other Japanese visited the crematorium when the ashes of Bose were collected and placed in a wooden box specially made for the purpose, B.1269 was shown a small piece of gold among the ashes which he believes was part of one of Bose's gold teeth. The box containing the ashes was then taken to a Japanese temple in the city, where a religious ceremony was again performed by the cleric.

Point	C.I.C.(Figess)Report dated 29.9.45 A	C.S.D.I.C. Report No.1156 dt.31.12.45 B	Before S. N. Khan Committee on 6.4.56 C
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N. On September 4, 1945 he (Rahman) accompanied the ashes of Bose to Gifu Honshu, Japan from where he travelled by rail to Tokyo, arriving on Sept. 6, 1945. Rahman was met by 2/Lt. (FNU) Hasegawa, a Japanese representative of the General Staff who took him to Mr. Ramamurti's residence.

On September 4, 1945, B.1269 returned to Taihoku and boarded the plane which carried 4 other Japanese passengers including Lt.-Col. Sakamaki and 3 civilians whose names were not known to B.1269. B.1269 carried with him the wooden box containing the ashes of Bose, the two photographs of Bose taken on August 21, 1945, three photographs of the wrecked plane and a rectangular wrist gold watch with a leather strap.

I was brought down to Taihoku airfield, and was flown to an airport, some distance away from Tokyo. Accompanying me at the time were two or three Japanese officers, probably one of them was Col. Nonogaki. The urn containing ashes of Netaji and the wooden boxes containing valuables were also taken charge of by this officer.

".... When I left Taihoku I was given a watch by the Officer Commanding of the Hospital who had treated Netaji saying that it was Netaji's watch which was removed from his wrist after his death. Later on, I managed to hand it over to Netaji's family through Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. I was told General Shidei had been killed and 3 other had also been killed. Then 3 or 4 had died in the Hospital later on. Only 4 persons survived. I was told that 4 had survived including myself out of the whole number of 12."

CHITTA BASU
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



28, Gurudwara Rakabganj,
Road, New Delhi-110001.

Phone: 3782260

11.2.92

Dear Prime Minister,

This is to request you to kindly examine the aide-memoire and supporting documents being submitted herewith on the subject of Netaji's Subas Chandra Bose's alleged but still unestablished death following a plane crash and take action through appropriate government agencies to unravel this mystery once and for all.

As you are aware, we, as a party, have over the past 46 years been demanding a conclusive probe into the above matter, particularly in view of the fact that the last officially stated position of the Government of India is a statement made in the Lok Sabha in 1978 by the then Prime Minister, Morarjee Desai, wherein he rejected the findings of the 1956 Shah Nawaz Committee and the 1974 Khosla Commission, both of which had decreed that Netaji died as a result of the air tragedy.

By virtue of British government records and other records, relating to the post-August 1945 period becoming public consequent to the two mentioned government ordered inquiries, more materials have emerged to question the report of Netaji's demise at Taihoku in 1945. A greater amount can be obtained from British, American, Japanese, Russian and Taiwanese sources and perhaps from our own files pertaining to the Nehru period. In view of the altered situation in Moscow, it may now be much easier to gain access to records there, which, according to Russian academics, do exist in the concerned archives.

The papers being placed before you will, we hope, convince you of the urgent need to unravel the mystery. Shri V.P. Singh, when Prime Minister, had, following a meeting with our party leaders, asked the External Affairs Ministry to collect the available material from overseas. This effort could, however, not be completed during the National Front government's tenure in office.

This is, therefore, to request you to kindly revive the matter and persue it further to unravel the mystery.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

(CHITTA BASU)

Dy. No. 778 / Dir. (AS)
Date 19/2

May kindly see.
This has been
dealt with earlier
in the MEA file.

Dis (AP)

17/2/92

1-2/11/16/12
17/2/92

To-day
M. Chandra
14/2/92
We have no
PPS on this issue
14/2
55/5
14/2/92
6436/12 (A) 192
14/2

Section
7240-VIP
17/2/92

4, Dr (pp) M
32144

MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENT
OTTAWA

1964-65
1964-65

The following information was received from the Department of the Environment on 1964-65:

The Department of the Environment has been operating a comprehensive program of environmental research and monitoring since 1964-65. This program is designed to provide a basis for the development of environmental policy and legislation.

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PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
April 4, 1992

Dear Shri Chitta Basu,

I have your letter of 11th February regarding Netaji.
I have forwarded its enclosures to the Minister of State for
External Affairs with the suggestion you have made in this
regard.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao

[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri Chitta Basu, MP
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road
New Delhi

820/11/18/13/192-64
✓
4270-1/18
10/4

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10/4 (10/4)
Cundament-11.
10/4 (10/4) 10/4
PBK-10/4 (10/4)



(4)

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
April 4, 1992

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I have forwarded its enclosures to the Minister of State for
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regard.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao

[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri Chitta Basu, MP
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road
New Delhi

No. 870/11/P/13/92-POL

April 13, 1992

Copy, along with a copy of the letter under reference,
forwarded for appropriate action to the P.S. to MOS for
External Affairs.

(Alok Prasad)
Director

ISSUED (W.E.)
17.4.92
7

9
Sw 16/c PII

अखिल भारतीय सुभाषवादी जनता



All India Subhashbadi Janata

(केन्द्रीय कार्यालय : ५१/१, कालेज स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता-७०००७३)

प्रान्तीय कार्यालय :

पत्रांक

दिनांक 11.4.1992

Respected Prime Minister Sh. Narsimha Rao

Dear Sir,

Your office have received a letter from our respected president. (All India Subhash badi Janata) on 7.2.92 in connection with Neta Ji Subhash Chandra Bose.

We the members of All India Subhash badi Janata and people of India do not believe that Neta Ji Subhash Chandra Bose died (as declared by Govt. of India) because there is no any documentary proof available till date.

So, you are requested to please give us time to meet you in your office to discuss the following.

1. Neta Ji if died when, where and how.
2. Neta Ji alive, where is he now.
3. Neta Ji if married when, where, & who were the witnesses.
4. Who was the founder of Shoulmari Asharam.
5. Who was the Monk standing by the side of Late Jawahar Lal Nehru's dead body in Trimurti Bhawan, as shown in Govt. Documentary film No. 816 B on Nehru's day.

As your self is a cool minded a right thinking person, I request you to spare your precious time to meet us at the earliest to discuss the vital national mistry concerning Neta Ji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Hoping for an earlier reply.

Jai Hind.

Yours Sincerely,

(G.L. SHARMA)

DB 65A, LIG Flats, Hari Nagar, NEW DELHI.

Khanlu
2/4
5074/201192
5/5
Whom can
they meet?

H. Chaudhary for
Mr. ... on this
subject.
So (Pp1)
23/4/92
Per papers are placed
in the file below
Date 23/4/92
PMS Personal Section
23/4/92

Dr. No. 98/1912
Date 23/4/92
6887/1111/1192
24/5
Dr. (AP) 24/5/92
May 11/92
You have been
dealing with this
file



ALOK PRASAD
DIRECTOR

(6)

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
नई दिल्ली 110 011
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
NEW DELHI 110 011


D.O. No. 870/11/P/16/92-P01

Dated 4.5.92

Dear Shri Sharma


I am writing to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 11th April, 1992 addressed to the Prime Minister. You are requested to kindly seek an appointment with MOS, Ministry of External Affairs.

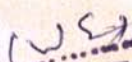
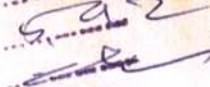
Yours sincerely,

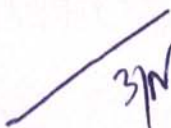

(Alok Prasad)

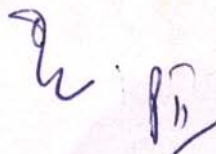
Shri G.L. Sharma,
DB 65 A, LIG Flats,
Hari Nagar,
New Delhi.

Copy to PS to MOS (EA), MEA with a copy of the letter under reference.


(Alok Prasad)
4.5.92

ISSUED 
12.5.92
SIGNATURE 





7

भारत सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

नई दिल्ली-110011

NEW DELHI-110011

28/

J.S.(E.A.)

Forwarded to... ~~Officer on Special Duty (EA)~~

Ministry of External Affairs

को उचित कार्यवाही के लिए प्रेषित

for appropriate action.....

इस पत्र की प्राप्ति सूचना नहीं भेजी गई है।

The Communications has not been acknowledged.

(K. Mohandas
for Dir(P)

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय गै० पत्र सं०.....

दिनांक..... 870/11/P/16/92-POL

Prime Minister's Office U.O. No.....

Dated..... 1/6/92.....

Issued (we)
1/6

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032

SPEED POST

21 May 1992

Dear Prime Minister,

This letter addressed to you is not for any political purpose, but on the patriotic mission to make a supreme effort by our Govt. to know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

About 3 months before Pandit Nehru passed away he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji, that 'I have no direct and precise proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. Then again just a month before he breathed his last, Nehruji wrote to Amiya Nath Bose a nephew of Netaji, 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalize the matter of the Netaji's death.'

But so many years passed, this extremely poignant issue about Netaji's destiny, after fall of Japan, remained hanging in uncertain haze.

Perhaps, your Govt. unwarily used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna in the name of Netaji. Administratively, the matter of 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' still remained an open issue before the Govt. of India.

You know that in 1956 Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had set up Shah Nawaz Committee to 'inquire into the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. In 1970 the Govt. of Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the 'findings' of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting 'Khosla Commission of judicial Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'.

For making many unsavoury remarks about Netaji in his Inquiry Report and for adopting some unethical steps before his report was placed in Lok Sabha, justice Khosla had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. Thus, the Chairman of the one-man Inquiry Commission himself knocked out the very moral and legal basis of his Inquiry Report.

On Sept 3, 1978, in reply to a debate raised by me in Lok Sabha Shri Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission (Document No.1). Morarjibhai then suggested an Investigative Inquiry to 'finalize' the issue of disappearance of Netaji instead of holding any further public inquiry. But he could't work-out his suggestion for sudden political change.

I took up the issue of instituting an Investigative Inquiry by a 'High Level Expert Committee' with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh and thereafter the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was essentially because of the very patriotic initiative of the President of India in this regard



Shri V.P.Singh agreed to 'look into the matter'. However, it was the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar, later, which took the decision to 'start an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. (Document No.2).

This decision was also possible because the President of India personally asked Shri Chandra Sekhar to take up this pending patriotic issue for resolving the haze about Netaji's disappearance.

But before the parameter, procedure and modality and the expert team of investigators could be decided upon political changes again stalled the proposed move for Netaji-Inquiry.

According to administrative tradition and practice as generally followed in our system of Parliamentary democracy it now devolves on the present Govt. to work-out the decision of the previous Govt. to hold a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.'

However, the moral and patriotic aspect of this task is no less important. You are a veteran freedom fighter and had many occasions to see and meet the fiery Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, before his epoch-making escape from the clutch of British Raj in 1941. I am sure you will feel the pulse of the urge of our unfulfilled national duty to know the truth what really happened to the greatest revolutionary hero of the struggle of our national liberation. The days of political prejudices of the past Congress politics are now over. Indian people will hail you as a great patriot if you take proper and effective steps to institute 'A high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' to 'finalise' the matter what Nehruji felt just a month before his death.

'High Level Investigative Inquiry by an expert Committee' means to find out effective diplomatic ways for securing, searching, scanning and scrutinizing all facts, reports, documents and informations about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in connection with the report of his death in the alleged aircrash and, alternately, his escape into Soviet Russia that are expected to be available with the Govts. of UK, Japan, USA, USSR and Taiwan.

It is known that immediately after broadcast by Tokyo Radio on 23rd August 1945 about the reported death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose the Wavell Govt. of India, the S.E.Asia Allied Command under Adml. Mountbatten (later Viceroy of India), Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army had set-up three separate inquiries to investigate about the truth behind the very



dubious report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in the alleged aircrash. Soon after occupation of Formosa in late 1945 by the Chiang-Ki-Shekh Govt. the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify the report of Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash at Taipai (former Taihoku).

None of these inquiry reports have ever been published.

The Reports that Netaji entered into former Soviet Russia soon after fall of Japan in 1945 for seeking asylum there have been variously communicated by British intelligence sources to the Govt. of Wavell. The document of the Home Secretary of the Wavell Govt. published in 'Transfer of Power' 42-47 the British Govt. in 1975 and the latest document in the form of a letter of Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, written in March 1946 to the US Journalist Louis Fischer very recently found in the 'Archive of the Princeton University of the USA' positively hinted Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 (Document No.3).

All these documents about disappearance of Netaji are expected to be found from the Govt. of UK, USA, Japan, Russia and Taiwan.

Many other documents will be found from the internal sources of our Govt. and from the proceedings of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. There are other sources also.

But to make the Investigative Inquiry a success it will require an initiative at the highest level by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Affairs office and formation of a team of highly experienced intelligence and judicial, legal experts to deal with all available documents, found externally and internally.

A highest level contact with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia to persuade him to reveal all papers in possession of KGB of the Soviet Govt. is likely to resolve the riddle of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This will be possible only if you take initiative to effectively approach the Russian President, Yeltsin.

I met our President Shri R.Venkatraman, about a month before to request him to take up again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji with you. He gracefully agreed to 'pursue the matter'. He asked me also to see you for the purpose. I was very eager to go to Delhi to explain to you all the background facts concerning the issue. But, by ill luck, I am very unwell to go to Delhi now. However, I hope to see our President and Prime Minister next month if God wills it.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



-4-

u2/

Dear Narasimha Raoji! I eagerly believe that you will take up the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and fulfill a long unfulfilled task of our nation to our beloved Netaji.

I am enclosing two articles recently published in the Statesman on the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji and the probability of Netaji's taking asylum in Russia. I am also sending my documentary book, 'Netaji, Dead or Alive ?' dealing with all aspects of Netaji's disappearance after fall of Japan for your careful examination.

I know you may not have time to go through this long letter and read my book. But I will make a request to you as an old colleague of yours in Lok Sabha and in the Privilege Committee and as one who had also a humble part in the freedom struggle of India as an younger associate of Netaji to kindly go through my letter including the enclosed documents and two articles personally.

I would further request you to give my book to any expert body to go through its scanning as did Shri Morarji Desai in 1978. This book is wholly based on documents available from the sources of the Govt. of India. This book ~~## #####~~ convinced a hyper-rigid man like Shri Morarji Desai about the necessity of instituting an Investigative Inquiry to reach a final conclusion about the hanging issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
South Bloc
NEW DELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl: As stated.

The Book that Knocked Down
the Findings of
Shah Nawaz Committee
And
Khosla Commission

Shri Morarji Desai

The then Prime Minister of India
Announced in Lok Sabha
on September 3, 1978 :

"Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive."

"I may sometimes differ from my hon. friend Samar Guha but I can never doubt, even in my sleep, his sincerity. I have great admiration for the dedication with which he is pursuing the cause."



No 489/Dm/91

44

DOCUMENTS NW7 II

विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032

22/7/46

Dear Fischer.

I enclose a copy of
Gandhi's letter as desired by
you. But please don't think
that he is not with us.

I have been with him since
my release from prison & he
put the Constitutive Programme
before the council which was
overlooked by the Working
Committee when they decided on
constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues
of the Working Committee he has gone
with them but they were not
prepared to go with him but
Gandhi is essentially a man
of action & when the time

40/

2.

comes, he will take the
country with him.

The Socialists are merely
infiltrating the Constitutive
Programme in the light of
present circumstances. We must
go ~~down~~ ^{to} the people & forge
mass reactions. The people
want to know the shape of
things to come. Grasping of the
provinces or the question of
sovereignty does not touch ~~the~~
^{them} ~~people~~, they want a plan.
Let our leaders go to the
Gout-sponsored Constituent Assembly
we remain with the people
to share their joys & sorrows.
When the time comes we shall

47/

3

be one.

The socialist do not want violence any more than does Gandhi but what is practical non-violence, we say non-killing. We have to put non-violence into practice not just go talking of truth non-violence. People want deeds not words. For twenty years we've talked on the ideal but the practical step for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin.

All Congress ^{other} nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt has built them

46/

4.

up to fight the Congress we'll
have to deal with them now. They
are going underground if before the
time the Allies (excluding Russia) have
a scrap with Soviet Russia India
is not satisfied with the results
of the Constituent Assembly, she will
go over entirely absolutely to the
enemies of the Allies. The Indian
army (not the Indian National Army)
is no longer of the same temper as
it was in the first world war.
Besides the disaffection amongst
the Indian officers & the rank file,
a revolutionary group has been working
amongst them they are pro German.
There have been many cases of
court martial in the Indian army
on individuals & platoons.

49

5

during the last war both in India
abroad. There have been mass
desertions in the regular army
+ minor scraps in the N. & F. Provinces
at the beginning of the ^{last} war.
At heart the Indian army is sympathetic
with the Indian National Army,
If Bose comes with the help of
Russia neither Gandhiji nor the
Congress will be able to reckon
with the country. Also Russia
for propaganda purposes declares
itself an Asiatic country then
there is no hope of any European
alliance acceptable to India. Freedom
for India under the aegis of Soviet
Russia is no freedom for us;
but it now must with England
to play fair by the people
of India or be declared by us
for ever as the enemy of India & its

50/

6

Asiatics. There are other groups in
North
India pro Russia, but after Russia
joined the Allies she lost caste.
However the bitterness towards
the English is so great that Russia
will again come into favour in
the event of any disagreement
amongst the Allies.

Gandhi is not worried with
the international reactions but
we can't afford to neglect the
signs of the time specially when
it concerns our freedom.

Chandra

It is finished

IS NETAJI DEAD?

Tale Of Incomplete Inquiries

By SAMAR GUHA

WHILE conferring the Bharat Ratna on Subhas Chandra Bose, an ill-conceived move in itself, the Union Government chose to describe it as "posthumous". If the Government is so sure about Netaji's death, why has it not let Indians know when, where and under what circumstances he died?

The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz committee while instituting the Khosla Commission "to inquire into Netaji's disappearance" after the fall of Japan on August 15, 1945. The Morarji Desai Government, in its turn, rejected the findings of the Khosla commission in an official statement to the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978. Just a year ago, the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to hold an "investigative inquiry" to solve the pending issue of "disappearance". How, then, can the present Government accept the "death" as a settled fact?

RE-EXAMINATION

While rejecting the findings of the two inquiries, Mr Desai argued that examination of all available documents would be more profitable than a fresh public inquiry, for the situation in the countries which had helped Netaji in all his activities, changed radically after World War II, and the people who could give positive evidence on his movements at the time of the surrender of Japan were either dead or not easily traceable. But, before such thinking could be transformed into concrete steps, the Morarji Desai Government went out of power.

What are the documents which can still provide positive clues to Netaji's whereabouts after the fall of Japan? After listening to the Tokyo broadcast on August 23, 1945, about Netaji's "death" in an air crash at Taihoku airfield on August 18, Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, wrote in his Diary: "I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It is just what would be given out if he wanted to go underground". Similar suspicions were shared by Britain and the USA. Admiral Mountbatten of the South East Allied Command, General MacArthur of the U.S. Pacific Army and the Wavell administration of British India started three separate inquiries to verify statements made in the broadcast.

The report of Mountbatten's inquiry was not published or made available to either the Shah Nawaz committee or the Khosla Commission. Only a few pages of Mountbatten's personal diary were produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee which rather strengthened the suspicion that news of Bose's death was no more than a "story" circulated by Japan. MacArthur's inquiry report also remained a sealed document. The eminent jurist, Radhabinode Pal, claimed to have learnt from his American colleague on the Tokyo War Criminal Trial that MacArthur's report greatly disbelieved the story of Bose's death. Findings of this two inquiries were very vital to ascertaining whether the Tokyo broadcast was accurate or not. Unfortunately, no effort was made at any time by any Indian Government to collect these inquiry reports from Britain and the USA.

As for the Wavell inquiry,

something was made known to the Shah Nawaz Committee unofficially confirming the report of Netaji's death. The principal investigative officer of this inquiry, B.C. Chakraborty, told

It is Samar Guha's contention that whether Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945, has not been established conclusively. The former M.P. wants the Union Government to examine all available documents with care.

the Khosla Commission in the course of his evidence: "Colonel Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese concealed facts regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945. None of the British or Allied Command believed the information about Netaji's death to be correct." The then Home Secretary of the Wavell Government also declined to accept the death report as true as has been revealed in his lengthy communication to the Atlee Government published among the Transfer of Power documents in 1975. He hinted that Bose, in all probability, took shelter in Stalin's Russia.

Nehru did not allow the Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taihoku in 1956 to hold an on-the-spot inquiry. But the Khosla Commission was permitted to do so. Although the Mayor of Taipei had conducted an inquiry into the air crash, Justice Khosla refused to ask the Taiwan Government for a copy of the report on the plea that since India had no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, such a request would not be admissible. But Mr Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs of that time, denied in the Lok Sabha that any such instruction had been issued to Justice Khosla. This inquiry report was very important in the sense the investigation was made immediately after the occupation of Formosa by the Chiang Kai-shek administration in late 1945. According to a number of M.P.s who visited Taiwan, the Taipei Mayor told them that his inquiry did not elicit any proof of Bose's death in an air crash.

NO PROOF

The first set of Japanese documents produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee was extremely dubious. There were three photographs, one of an urn marked as carrying Bose's ashes, another of Colonel Habibur Rahman with his face bandaged and a third of a covered bundle indexed as containing the body of "Chandra Bose". If Japan could take three photographs, why did it fail to have one more of the uncovered body to convince everyone that Bose actually died in the crash?

A death certificate of "Chandra Bose", issued by the Taihoku municipality in 1945, was given by Japan to the Shah Nawaz Committee as evidence of his death. This was in Japanese script and, when deciphered, was found to have been issued in the name of a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who did not die on August 18, 1945. Nor was the death due to burns but to heart failure. Both the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission neglected to make further inquiries into these documents or to find other relevant material from Japan.

Nehru remained impervious to suggestion about Netaji being in Russia although the "Intelligence Department of the Wavell Government" reported: "Subhas Chandra Bose wrote a letter to Nehru from Moscow seeking his help for his repatriation to India". As Prime Minister, Nehru made every effort to maintain very close and friendly relations with the erstwhile Soviet Union. But neither he nor any of his successors tried to seek information on Netaji. Nor did the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission ask them to get in touch with the former Soviet authorities to verify reports.

It was known that Nehru maintained a special file on Netaji. But the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission dared not ask the Government to produce it. A cryptic note was found inside some of the official files supplied to the Khosla Commission, which contained a list of about 40 official files marked "either destroyed or missing".

MISSING FILES

One of them was mentioned as containing reports of "investigations into circumstances leading to death of Subhas Chandra Bose". Another Prime Minister's file (12)26/56-PM was also shown as "since destroyed". Why were so many official files "destroyed" and "missing"?

A representation was made to the V.P. Singh Government for instituting a high-level "investigative inquiry". On June 7, 1990, he wrote to me: "...Regarding High Level Investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in USSR, U.K., Japan and USA, I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this..." But before any positive move could be initiated, his Government had to resign.

The move for starting a fresh inquiry was revived soon after the Chandra Shekhar Government had been installed. The President extended his moral support to the move and, in a letter on January 29, 1991, his Joint Secretary informed me that "The President has taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into..."

Finally, on March 26, 1991, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs informed me, in a letter, of the Government's decision to institute "An Investigative Inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji". He wrote: "Kindly refer to your letter on February 26, 1991, addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I would like to assure you that Ministry has already initiated the follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development". Again, before the parameter, procedure and modality of the proposed inquiry, the composition of the investigating team and other details could be decided upon, the Government resigned.

It is now time for the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government to complete the inquiry. This is a sacred national duty which it should perform without any faltering or dithering.

UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Did Stalin Harbour Netaji?

By SAMAR GUHA

BORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while setting up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his aircraft crash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

VERY FRIENDLY

Bose's political attitude towards Russia was always very friendly. Indeed, after his escape from India, Bose planned to go to Stalin's Russia. But Soviet hesitation at a very critical moment forced him to go to Hitler's Germany. Although tactically Bose allied himself with the Axis Powers, yet he never made any adverse remark or acted at anytime against the Soviet Union while waging his campaign against the British Raj. He even dared, while sitting in the very den of Hitler, to make strong comments, and that too in writing, against the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR.

After reaching South-east Asia, Bose maintained secret political links with Jacob Malik, the then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Every senior member of Netaji's Government told the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that after the fall of Germany, Netaji's emissary contacted Malik. But what actually transpired between them is not known. Major-General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari Kikan, the organization that liaised between the Government of Japan and the set-up of Netaji, and all other important INA witnesses, except Colonel Habibur Rahman, categorically told both the committee and commission that after Japan's defeat, Netaji's destination was the Soviet Union.

In this regard the most vital piece of information was given to Nehru's emissary, Mr Iyer, by Colonel Tada, who was entrusted by F. M. Terauchi, the Japanese chief of the S.-E. Command at Saigon, to plan and execute "Chandra Bose's" escape to the Soviet Union. The Shah Nawaz Committee could not record Col. Tada's evidence. Nehru secretly sent Mr Iyer, a former Propaganda Minister of Netaji's Government, in 1957 to ascertain the exact plan of Netaji.

In his report to Nehru, Iyer noted the version of Colonel Tada: "When Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Kaka Bose to reach Russian territory. It was arranged that 'Chandra Bose' would fly in a plane in which General Shedei was going (who was put in charge of the Manchurian Front after Russia declared war against

Japan). General Shedei was to look after Chandra Bose up to Dairen and thereafter he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russia". Colonel Tada told Iyer that his plan was to convey Bose to Manchuria.

In a statement in the Lok Sabha, Nehru read out only that portion of the report of Colonel Tada which supported the story of

THE author sifts through the evidence suggesting that Netaji did not die in an aircraft crash in 1945 and that he took refuge in Stalin's Russia instead. He urges Mr Boris Yeltsin to make public all the facts which the KGB files may contain on the episode.

Netaji's aircraft crash death. But the other vital parts of his report, which confirmed Netaji's plan to go to the Soviet Union, were kept from the Lok Sabha. The full facts came to be known only after the text of Mr Iyer's secret report to Nehru was placed before the Khosla Commission in 1970.

A PORTION

A portion of Mountbatten's Diary was submitted before the Shah Nawaz Committee, in which it has been recorded that Mountbatten received secret communication from Chungking after the Japanese broadcast of Bose's death. It stated: "The report of Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) posted in China informed Mountbatten by telegram on October 17, 1945 ... When Bose was preparing to leave Saigon with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family ... DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there".

Another report by British Intelligence submitted to the Wavell Government in early 1946 noted: "There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are also those who were aware of this". This report is also from the Government files placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee.

Shyamal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Asaf Ali, then working as secretary to the INA Defence Council, told the Khosla Commission that on December 26 or 27, 1945, he was asked by Nehru, in the residence of Asaf Ali, to make four copies of a note which said: "Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1-30 afternoon. Bose, along with General Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory. The jeep returned after about three hours". Nehru sent a copy of this letter with his own comments to the Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, which was also typed by Jain.

British Intelligence made another very vital report to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that "on 7th January, 1946, Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilazi Malang had been in touch with Bose in Russia and in December a report said that the Governor of Afgan province khost has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that Bose was in Moscow. ... Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul in Teheran, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia". (All these reports are from "Secret Government Files" submitted to the Khosla Commission).

However, the most startling revelation came from the report of R. F. Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1945. After discussing a number of alternatives on how to deal with Bose, Mudie concluded in his long report to Lord Wavell: "In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of course, be welcomed by the Russians". Mr Mudie's report was sent to Atlee

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The whole report submitted by Mudie was published after 30 years, in 1975, along with other documents in "The Transfer of Power". It so positively asserted the fact of Bose's going to the Soviet Union after the fake report of his death that it ought to have provoked the Indian Government to inquire from the USSR the exact truth behind the British report of Bose's escape to Russia after the end of World War II. But New Delhi remained insensitively indifferent.

While returning from Moscow after completing her term as the Indian Ambassador, Vijaylakshmi Pandit told reporters at Bombay airport that she would reveal to the Indian people something very sensational. The Press interpreted this as her personal knowledge about Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. But after meeting Nehru in Delhi she completely sealed her lips. Again, when she refused to appear before the Khosla Commission, the commission enquired of her in writing whether she knew anything about Bose's presence in the Soviet Union. Mrs Pandit avoided a direct answer by saying: "I have not met Subhas Babu after 1940".

The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarjibhai and the historian himself.

AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhiji's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhiji repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhiji indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhiji was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received either from Delhi or Moscow. After Mr Gorbachov came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?



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55

L.K. ADVANI
LEADER OF OPPOSITION
LOK SABHA

May 15, 1992.

Dear Shri Narasimha Rao ji,

Shri Samar Guha, our former Lok Sabha colleague, has written a letter to me (copy enclosed herewith) urging that an enquiry be instituted to unravel the mystery of Netaji Subhash Bose's death.

Shri Guha, himself a dedicated follower of Netaji, has been painstakingly pursuing this matter for decades. There have been two enquiries till now - the Shah Nawaz Committee enquiry and the Khosla Commission enquiry. On September 3, 1978, Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai made a statement in Parliament in which he said that reasonable doubt had been cast on the findings of these two reports.

Shri Guha has suggested a fresh investigative enquiry into the matter. This event, after all, is a very important page of Indian history. The greater the time lapse between the happening and the enquiry, the more difficult it would be to arrive at the truth.

I commend Shri Guha's suggestion. I would be grateful if you can have this issue personally examined, and ensure that the needful is done.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

L. K. Advani

(L. K. ADVANI)

PM'S Personal Section

Y NO 4070-VI/1

DATE 21/5

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
NEW DELHI.

41, Dr. C. M. L.
33393

201 12 35M

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
EX. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032
SPEED POST

April 27/1992

My dear Adyaniji,

I talked to you over phone about the issue of 'Investigative Inquiry on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. I expected to return to Delhi soon to give you all details about the issue personally. But unfortunately, I have become very unwell, suddenly.

I am sending by Speed Post, as such, some relevant materials to you, including my documentary book 'Netaji Dead or Alive'. As I know you, I believe, you will give proper importance to this letter.

On March 26, 1991 the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar formally announced, in the form of a letter to me, about starting of an Investigative Inquiry about Netaji. This was a logical outcome of a long process of the movement. In 1970 Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Inquiry held in 1956, while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970 for a fresh judicial inquiry on Netaji. On Sept 3, 1978, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the Shah Nawaz Committee, and the Khosla Commission on the floor of the Lok Sabha.

Thus, the issue of Netaji Inquiry was reopened by the Govt. itself. Realising this, Morarjibhai suggested an Investigative Inquiry instead of any further judicial inquiry. But, he had no time to finalize the proposal.

After formation of the V.P. Singh Govt. I took up the issue again. Shri Singh agreed to take up the matter. But due to political change the issue of Netaji Inquiry passed on to Shri Chandra Sekhar Govt. The Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar finally took the decision to hold an 'Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' Shri R. Venkatraman, President of India, very patriotically extended his moral influence on both these Govts. for holding an Investigative Inquiry on Netaji. The President gracefully responded to all my requests.

Now, it devolves on the Govt. of Shri Narasimha Rao to execute the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. on investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and set-up the parameters, procedure and modality of the investigation for effective completion of the process of inquiry, in consultation with the knowledgeable persons. However, instead of taking up the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt., the Govt. of Shri Narasimha Rao while announcing the ill-conceived Bharat Ratna in the name of Netaji it was reported to be a 'Posthumous



award' to Netaji, - although the Govt. is not in a position to state positively when, where and how Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died.

Recently a number of very distinguished citizens of Calcutta and myself met the President of India, Shri R.Venkatraman, who assured us that he will again 'Persue the issue of the Investigative Inquiry on Netaji with the Prime Minister'. He asked us to directly approach Shri Narasimha Rao also.

I am not in the Parliament now and know my present limitations. Now, only the leaders of the prominent parties and very particularly the recognised Opposition Party (BJP) and its leaders can play an effective role in this matter.

If a lone man could force Mrs. Indira Gandhi to institute Khosla Judicial Commission, discarding her fatehr's decision, and thereafter, persuade an obsessive man like Shri Morarji Desai to reject both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and make him agree to institute a fresh Investigative Inquiry and now after 10 years could persuade further the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar to agree to accept the suggestion of the Morarji Govt., then I am convinced that the present 120-members strong Opposition Party with its powerful leader will certainly succeed to make Shri Narasimha Rao agree to implement the decision about Investigative Inquiry on Netaji which has already been taken by his previous Govt. I have my faith in the spirit of nationalism and patriotic fervour of the BJP and its leader. I do believe that BJP leaders will take up the issue of Investigative Inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with all seriousness to finally know what really happened to Netaji, the greatest national hero of the struggle of our national liberation.

Morally and as also according to Parliamentary practice, if BJP as the recognised Opposition Party take up the issue of Netaji-Inquiry it will be extremely difficult for Shri Narasimha Rao not to agree to it. This is such a sacred issue of our national gratitude to the Maha Kashtriya of modern India that neither the Prime Minister nor any Member of Parliament will dare to oppose the demand for a fresh Investigative Inquiry if the issue is raised by the Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha. I have my experience that while collecting signatures of about 400 M.P's for a Memorandum on Netaji no member of either the ruling party or the opposition could say 'no' to sign it. I am sure that if the present Leader of Opposition raises the matter in the form of a Resolution in Lok Sabha during its present session, neither the ruling party nor any other opposition party will dare



to oppose this very sensitive patriotic move.

I met Shri V.P.Singh, Shri Chandra Sekhar and Shri S.R.Bomma, - all of them agreed to write letter to the Prime Minister. Shri Chandra Sekhar appeared to take up the matter more seriously. However, according Parliamentary traditions as also because of the known patriotic background of the BJP if the Leader of the Opposition takes up the issue in the Parliament it will achieve its objective most effectively. The situation, as it is now, is very favourable for BJP to win this patriotic battle for instituting a fresh Investigative Inquiry on disappearance of Netaji. I visualize, yes, from the inner core of the heart, - if BJP takes up the issue in right spirit it will emerge with a new glimmer of a new image after its success in instituting the Investigative Inquiry on Netaji.

Kindly permit me to suggest the following steps for the consideration of BJP, the recognised Opposition Party :

i) Let a Memorandum be drafted and signed by 120 Lok Sabha and also Rajya Sabha BJP Members. Let this Memorandum be presented to the Prime Minister jointly by Sarvasree L.K.Advani, Atal Behari Bajpayee, Maharani Scindia, Sekendar Bakt and Dr. M.M.Joshi, the President of the BJP. Such a move will have tremendous effect on the minds of the Indian people about the nationalist character of BJP.

ii) Let two Motions be moved in Lok Sabha by the Leader of the Opposition, - One, - for implementation of the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to start an Investigative Inquiry on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and two, asking the Govt. of Russia to come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's going over to Russia in 1945 under the cover of the cooked-up story of his aircrash death at Taipai (Taihoku).

These two resolutions will have such national response that no party nor any member of the Parliament will dare to oppose it and all the laurels for such a patriotic move will be with the BJP.

iii) Hold a massive Rally in thousands before the Russian Embassy in New Delhi led by all the prominent leaders of the BJP to submit a Memorandum to the President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, through the Russian Embassy in New Delhi, for disclosing all facts known to Russia about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in their country after the 1st Great War.

iv) Let BJP take the initiative to announce 'National Day' asking all the political parties and patriotic organisations to join it in demand of -



59

1. Institution of an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by the Govt. of India; and, 2. asking the Govt. of Russia to come out with all facts in their possession about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If such a call is given by the BJP, the recognised Opposition Party in the Parliament, it will be difficult for the other political parties not to respond to it. Such a National Day will be, in a way, to remind the Indian people how the Govt. of Nehru betrayed Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, but for whose supreme heroic exploits and supreme sacrifices India could not achieve freedom in 1947.

Yes, when Attlee was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan in mid fifties by the then Governor of West Bengal, - 'Why after winning the last Great War the British decided to so precipitously to quit India ?'

Prompt came the reply from Mr. Attlee, who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Common, - 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose'. Yes, Subhas Chandra Bose knocked down the traditional loyalty of the British Indian Army to the British Crown. It was the final reason for quitting India by the British Raj in 1947.

Advaniji! Is it not our national duty to know what really happened to Netaji, - the Man of Destiny of our Indian freedom ?

May I humbly request you to circulate this letter to the Members of the BJP Executive when it meets next in Gandhinagar in Gujrat.

With best regards and namaskar,

PS: Some documents are included.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Lal Krishna Advani
Leader of the Opposition
Lok Sabha
New Delhi

Samar Guha
(SAMAR GUHA)

Enclosures :

1. ~~Letter to Advaniji, Leader of the Opposition.~~
2. Statement by Shri Morarji Desai.
3. Letter of Shri Digvijay Singh, Deputy Minister of Chandra Sekhar Govt.
4. Book - 'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?'
5. Article - on documentary proof and testimonials of Netaji's going to Russia after fall of Japan in 1945.
6. Outlines of a draft of the Memorandum to be presented to the Prime Minister.

60

The Book that Knocked Down
the Findings of
Shah Nawaz Committee
And
Khosla Commission

Shri Morarji Desai

The then Prime Minister of India
Announced in Lok Sabha
on September 3, 1978 :

"Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive."

"I may sometimes differ from my hon. friend Samar Guha but I can never doubt, even in my sleep, his sincerity. I have great admiration for the dedication with which he is pursuing the cause."



सत्यमेव जयते

No. 489/Dm/91

विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032

UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Did Stalin Harbour Netaji? (62)

By SAMAR GUHA

BORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while settling up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his aircrash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

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The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarji and the historian himself.

AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhiji's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhiji repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhiji indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhiji was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received either from Delhi or Moscow. After Mr Gorbachov came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?

(6)

OUTLINE OF THE DRAFT MEMORANDUM FOR
PRESENTING TO THE PRIME
MINISTER

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Dear Prime Minister,

We hope, you are aware of the fact that the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose remained unresolved for last 47 years.

In 1956 the Govt. of India had set up Shah Nawaz Committee to inquire into 'alleged death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' in the reported air crash at Taihoku (Taipei) on August 18, 1945.

As the Shah Nawaz Committee's report appeared unsatisfactory nearly 350 Members of all-parties of the Parliament appealed to the Govt. of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1967 to appoint a fresh judicial Commission to inquire about Netaji's disappearance. Finally, in early 1970 'a one-man judicial Commission' was set up by the Govt. of Indira Gandhi 'to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' Unfortunately, the Commission's proceedings were vitiated by unjust activities of justice Khosla for which he had to apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha in early 1975.

On Sept 3, the Govt. of Morarji Desai rejected the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission by making a statement on the floor of Lok Sabha in reply to a long debate on the report of the Khosla Commission.

Thus, the issue of inquiry about disappearance of Netaji was reopened by the Government at the Centre. Consequently, Shri Morarji Desai suggested a fresh 'Investigative Inquiry' about Netaji's disappearance. Because of political change, however, it could not be materialised.

After formation of the Govt. of Shri V.P. Singh and thereafter of Shri Chandra Sekhar, the issue about the Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was taken up successively with the Govt. of Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar.

The President of India, Shri R. Venkatraman lent his moral support to this move. Consequently, the Government of Shri V.P. Singh argued to take up the issue and finally it was the Government of Shri Chandra Sekhar which announced on March 26, 1991 'starting' of a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry into Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.'

ROUTED MEMORANDUM FOR
PRESENTING TO THE PRIME
MINISTER

This investigation was intended to go into the secret documents about Netaji that are expected to be available with the Governments of U.K, U.S.A, Taiwan and Japan and most importantly with the Government of Russia. Many important documents are also lying with the Government of India left by the Government of Wavell and Mountbatten.

Now the task of working out the decision of the Government of Shri Chandra Sekhar naturally devolved on your Government. We earnestly request you, therefore, to take up the issue of the proposed 'Investigative Inquiry about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's disappearance'. For this a 'High Level Expert Committee' should be formed to go into all the secret documents likely to be available with the Governments of UK, USA, Taiwan, Japan and most vitally with Russia.

For enabling proper searching and scrutiny of such international documents about Netaji by an expert committee it will be necessary for the Prime Minister of India to take up this matter directly with these foreign Governments.

Dear Prime Minister! The issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose needs to be finalised to let our countrymen know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We would, therefore, earnestly request you to take up the issue of an 'Investigative Inquiry into Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' in consultation with persons who will be helpful to furnish necessary suggestions for outlining the parameter, modality and other guidelines about this inquiry.

We have no doubt that if such a comprehensive Investigative Inquiry is made, the hanging issue of what happened to Netaji can be finally resolved to let our countrymen know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We believe, you will take up this patriotic task with all earnestness and expedition.

With regards,
Yours sincerely,



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
May 20, 1992

Dear Advaniji,

I have received your letter of May 15, 1992 regarding the circumstances leading to the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao
[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri L.K. Advani, MP
C 1/6, Pandara Park
New Delhi

No.870/11/P/16/92-POL

June 1, 1992

Copy, along with a copy of the letter under reference, forwarded for appropriate action to the OSD(EA), Ministry of External Affairs.

(Alok Prasad)
Director

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OSD(EA) II
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भारत के राष्ट्रपति का सचिव
Secretary to the President of India

(11)

राष्ट्रपति भवन, नई दिल्ली
Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi

(67)

May 30, 1992.

Dear Shri Varma,

As directed by the President, I am enclosing herewith copies of the following two communications for appropriate action:

- (i) Letter dated 27.5.1992 from Prof. Samar Guha, Ex-MP, 8/2 Central Park, Calcutta regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (ii) Letter dated May 26, 1992 from Shri S.R. Bommai, President, Janata Dal, enclosing a copy of letter dated 21.4.92 from Prof. Samar Guha on the subject of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With warm regards

Yours sincerely,


(P. Murari)

Shri A. N. Varma,
Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister,
New Delhi.

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Per Sec. to 24/6

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.

Dy. No. 2731-6/92

Date 3/6/92

J.S. (N)'S OFFICE

DY. No.

DATE

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4.6.92

27/5/92

J.S. (N)
I think this is being dealt with on MEA side

6582/151950
J.S. (N)



68

SPEED POST

May 27/1992

Respected Rastrapatiji,

Please accept my warm greetings on the occasion of your important mission to China for reviving the jolted bond of our ancient Indo-Chinese friendship.

When I had the privilege to meet you last time at Calcutta Raj Bhavan alongwith the other very distinguished persons of Calcutta you had been very kind to patriotically respond to our appeal to assure us that you will 'pursue the matter' of Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. You had also advised us, at that time, to approach the Prime Minister from our side for the purpose.

I was very eager to go to Delhi to see you first and then Shri Narasimha Raoji in this connection. But unfortunately, I had to be hospitalized for some ailments. Doctor is not allowing me to travel Delhi immediately.

This is the reason why I have sent a letter to the Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Raoji, by Speed Post, making a fervent appeal to him to implement the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to start a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' (A copy of the letter sent to the Prime Minister is enclosed).

Shri L.K.Advani, Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha has informed me that he has also written a letter to the Prime Minister making a request to him to 'personally examine' the issue of the urgency of holding such an Investigative Inquiry about Netaji. I have been told by Shri Chandra Sekhar, Shri V.P.Singh and Leader of the Opposition in Rajya Sabha, Shri Jaypal Reddy that they will also write to the Prime Minister requesting him to hold an Investigative Inquiry about Netaji.

However, it is my firm belief that Narasimha Raoji will certainly ~~to~~ apply his mind to institute an adequate investigation about the issue of disappearance of Netaji if you personally urge him to take up the matter with all seriousness as it deserves. I do believe that after you personally take up the matter with him, Shri Narasimha Raoji will feel the deeper pulse of our unfulfilled national obligation to make an all out effort to unravel the mystery shrouding the fate of Netaji.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
EX. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



(18)

-2-

In this connection I may draw your kind attention that if our Prime Minister approach the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, at the highest level requesting him to disclose all facts, informations and documents that are available in the KGB files of the former Soviet Govt. about the Indian revolutionary Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and if the secret papers are revealed the riddle about the fate of Netaji is likely to be resolved in many ways. According to the reports from the British sources the Govt. of UK was almost convinced that Netaji took asylum in Soviet Russia after fall of Japan in August 1945. All the important Japanese witnesses, who appeared before both the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission unreservedly indicated that Netaji's destination, after fall of Japan, was Russia.

Politically, circumstantially and psychologically the situation now seems to be very favourable for making such a request to the President of Russia by our Prime Minister which is likely to evoke positive response.

I am anxiously watching if the Congress (I) will see the wisdom of requesting you to agree to remain in the office of the President of India for the second term. Many parochially interested politicians are creating a lot of confusion about the next incumbent for the highest constitutional office of India without going deeper into the matter that the President of India represents the highest dignity and authority of the nation.

If the situation so happens that you will leave your office by next July then nobody is expected to take up the issue of Netaji-inquiry as earnestly as you did to finalize the matter to let our countrymen know what ultimately happened to the Netaji of the Indian people.

I appeal to you in the name of God to see that Shri Narasimha Raoji decides to institute a High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by an Expert Committee. I invoke the name of God because Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was absolutely a spiritual man in his inner being and, as I know you, - you are also a man ~~of~~ dedicated to the God.

I hope my doctor will permit me to go to Delhi next month to pay my personal respect to you.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Shri R. Venkatraman
President of India
Rastrapati Bhavan
New Delhi 110004

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
EX. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



70

8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032

SPEED POST

21 May 1992

Dear Prime Minister,

This letter addressed to you is not for any political purpose, but on the patriotic mission to make a supreme effort by our Govt. to know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

About 3 months before Pandit Nehru passed away he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji, that 'I have no direct and precise proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. Then again just a month before he breathed his last, Nehruji wrote to Amiya Nath Bose a nephew of Netaji, 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalize the matter of the Netaji's death.'

But so many years passed, this extremely poignant issue about Netaji's destiny, after fall of Japan, remained hanging in uncertain haze.

Perhaps, your Govt. unwarily used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna in the name of Netaji. Administratively, the matter of 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' still remained an open issue before the Govt. of India.

You know that in 1956 Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had set up Shah Nawaz Committee to 'inquire into the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. In 1970 the Govt. of Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the 'findings' of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting 'Khosla Commission of judicial Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'.

For making many unsavoury remarks about Netaji in his Inquiry Report and for adopting some unethical steps before his report was placed in Lok Sabha, justice Khosla had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. Thus, the Chairman of the one-man Inquiry Commission himself knocked out the very moral and legal basis of his Inquiry Report.

On Sept 3, 1978, in reply to a debate raised by me in Lok Sabha Shri Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission (Document No.1). Morarjibhai then suggested an Investigative Inquiry to 'finalize' the issue of disappearance of Netaji instead of holding any further public inquiry. But he could't work-out his suggestion for sudden political change.

I took up the issue of instituting an Investigative Inquiry by a 'High Level Expert Committee' with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh and thereafter the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was essentially because of the very patriotic initiative of the President of India in this regard



Shri V.P. Singh agreed to 'look into the matter'. However, it was the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar, later, which took the decision to 'start an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. (Document No.2).

This decision was also possible because the President of India personally asked Shri Chandra Sekhar to take up this pending patriotic issue for resolving the haze about Netaji's disappearance.

But before the parameter, procedure and modality and the expert team of investigators could be decided upon political changes again stalled the proposed move for Netaji-Inquiry.

According to administrative tradition and practice as generally followed in our system of Parliamentary democracy it now devolves on the present Govt. to work-out the decision of the previous Govt. to hold a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.'

However, the moral and patriotic aspect of this task is no less important. You are a veteran freedom fighter and had many occasions to see and meet the fiery Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, before his epoch-making escape from the clutch of British Raj in 1941. I am sure you will feel the pulse of the urge of our unfulfilled national duty to know the truth what really happened to the greatest revolutionary hero of the struggle of our national liberation. The days of political prejudices of the past Congress politics are now over. Indian people will hail you as a great patriot if you take proper and effective steps to institute 'A high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' to 'finalise' the matter what Nehruji felt just a month before his death.

'High Level Investigative Inquiry by an expert Committee' means to find out effective diplomatic ways for securing, searching, scanning and scrutinizing all facts, reports, documents and informations about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in connection with the report of his death in the alleged air crash and, alternately, his escape into Soviet Russia that are expected to be available with the Govts. of UK, Japan, USA, USSR and Taiwan.

It is known that immediately after broadcast by Tokyo Radio on 23rd August 1945 about the reported death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose the Wavell Govt. of India, the S.E. Asia Allied Command under Adml. Mountbatten (later Viceroy of India), Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army had set-up three separate inquiries to investigate about the truth behind the very



72

dubious report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in the alleged aircrash. Soon after occupation of Formosa in late 1945 by the Chiang-Ki-Shek Govt. the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify the report of Subhas Chandra Bose's death in the aircrash at Taipai (former Taihoku).

None of these inquiry reports have ever been published.

The Reports that Netaji entered into former Soviet Russia soon after fall of Japan in 1945 for seeking asylum there have been variously communicated by British intelligence sources to the Govt. of Wavell. The document of the Home Secretary of the Wavell Govt. published in 'Transfer of Power' 42-47 the British Govt. in 1975 and the latest document in the form of a letter of Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, written in March 1946 to the US journalist Louis Fischer very recently found in the 'Archive of the Princeton University of the USA' positively hinted Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 (Document No.3).

All these documents about disappearance of Netaji are expected to be found from the Govt. of UK, USA, Japan, Russia and Taiwan.

Many other documents will be found from the internal sources of our Govt. and from the proceedings of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. There are other sources also.

But to make the Investigative Inquiry a success it will require an initiative at the highest level by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Affairs office and formation of a team of highly experienced intelligence and judicial, legal experts to deal with all available documents, found externally and internally.

A highest level contact with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia to persuade him to reveal all papers in possession of KGB of the Soviet Govt. is likely to resolve the riddle of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This will be possible only if you take initiative to effectively approach the Russian President, Yeltsin.

I met our President Shri R.Venkatraman, about a month before to request him to take up again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji with you. He gracefully agreed to 'pursue the matter'. He asked me also to see you for the purpose. I was very eager to go to Delhi to explain to you all the background facts concerning the issue. But, by ill luck, I am very unwell to go to Delhi now. However, I hope to see our President and Prime Minister next month if God wills it.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



73

-4-

Dear Narasimha Raoji! I eagerly believe that you will take up the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and fulfill a long unfulfilled task of our nation to our beloved Netaji.

I am enclosing two articles recently published in the Statesman on the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji and the probability of Netaji's taking asylum in Russia. I am also sending my documentary book, 'Netaji, Dead or Alive?' dealing with all aspects of Netaji's disappearance after fall of Japan for your careful examination.

I know you may not have time to go through this long letter and read my book. But I will make a request to you as an old colleague of yours in Lok Sabha and in the Privilege Committee and as one who had also a humble part in the freedom struggle of India as an younger associate of Netaji to kindly go through my letter including the enclosed documents and two articles personally.

I would further request you to give my book to any expert body to go through its scannig as did Shri Morarji Desai in 1978. This book is wholly based on documents available from the sources of the Govt. of India. This book ~~## ##~~ convinced a hyper-rigid man like Shri Morarji Desai about the necessity of instituting an Investigative Inquiry to reach a final conclgion about the hanging issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
South Bloc
NEW DELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl: As stated.

The Book that Knocked Down
the Findings of
Shah Nawaz Committee
And
Khosla Commission

14

Shri Morarji Desai

The then Prime Minister of India
Announced in Lok Sabha
on September 3, 1978 :

"Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive."

"I may sometimes differ from my hon. friend Samar Guha but I can never doubt, even in my sleep, his sincerity. I have great admiration for the dedication with which he is pursuing the cause."



No. 489/Dm/91

79

विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

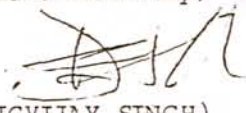
Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032

Tale Of Incomplete Inquiries

By SAMAR GUHA

WHILE conferring the Bharat Ratna on Subhas Chandra Bose, an ill-conceived move in itself, the Union Government chose to describe it as "posthumous". If the Government is so sure about Netaji's death, why has it not let Indians know when, where and under what circumstances he died?

The Government of India Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz committee while instituting the Khosla Commission "to inquire into Netaji's disappearance" after the fall of Japan on August 15, 1945. The Morarji Desai Government, in its turn, rejected the findings of the Khosla commission in an official statement to the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978. Just a year ago, the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to hold an "investigative inquiry" to solve the pending issue of "disappearance". How, then, can the present Government accept the "death" as a settled fact?

RE-EXAMINATION

While rejecting the findings of the two inquiries, Mr Desai argued that examination of all available documents would be more profitable than a fresh public inquiry, for the situation in the countries which had helped Netaji in all his activities, changed radically after World War II, and the people who could give positive evidence on his movements at the time of the surrender of Japan were either dead or not easily traceable. But, before such thinking could be transformed into concrete steps, the Morarji Desai Government went out of power.

What are the documents which can still provide positive clues to whereabouts after the fall of Japan? After listening to the Tokyo broadcast on August 23, 1945, about Netaji's "death" in an air crash at Taihoku airfield on August 18, Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, wrote in his Diary: "I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It is just what would be given out if he wanted to go underground". Similar suspicions were shared by Britain and the USA. Admiral Mountbatten of the South East Allied Command, General MacArthur of the U.S. Pacific Army and the Wavell administration of British India started three separate inquiries to verify statements made in the broadcast.

Report of Mountbatten's inquiry was not published or made available to either the Shah Nawaz committee or the Khosla Commission. Only a few pages of Mountbatten's personal diary were produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee which rather strengthened the suspicion that news of Bose's death was no more than a "story" circulated by Japan. MacArthur's inquiry report also remained a sealed document. The eminent jurist, Radhabinode Pal, claimed to have learnt from his American colleague on the Tokyo War Criminal Trial that MacArthur's report greatly disbelieved the story of Bose's death. Findings of this two inquiries were very vital to ascertaining whether the Tokyo broadcast was accurate or not. Unfortunately, no effort was made at any time by any Indian Government to collect these inquiry reports from Britain and the USA.

As for the Wavell inquiry,

something was made known to the Shah Nawaz Committee unofficially confirming the report of Netaji's death. The principal investigative officer of this inquiry, B.C. Chakraborty, told

It is Samar Guha's contention that whether Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945, has not been established conclusively. The former M.P. wants the Union Government to examine all available documents with care.

the Khosla Commission in the course of his evidence: "Colonel Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese concealed facts regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945. None of the British or Allied Command believed the information about Netaji's death to be correct." The then Home Secretary of the Wavell Government also declined to accept the death report as true as has been revealed in his lengthy communication to the Atlee Government published among the Transfer of Power documents in 1975. He hinted that Bose, in all probability, took shelter in Stalin's Russia.

Nehru did not allow the Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taihoku in 1956 to hold an on-the-spot inquiry. But the Khosla Commission was permitted to do so. Although the Mayor of Taipei had conducted an inquiry into the air crash, Justice Khosla refused to ask the Taiwan Government for a copy of the report on the plea that since India had no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, such a request would not be admissible. But Mr Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs of that time, denied in the Lok Sabha that any such instruction had been issued to Justice Khosla. This inquiry report was very important in the sense the investigation was made immediately after the occupation of Formosa by the Chiang Kai-shek administration in late 1945. According to a number of M.P.s who visited Taiwan, the Taipei Mayor told them that his inquiry did not elicit any proof of Bose's death in an air crash.

NO PROOF

The first set of Japanese documents produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee was extremely dubious. There were three photographs, one of an urn marked as carrying Bose's ashes, another of Colonel Habibur Rahman with his face bandaged and a third of a covered bundle indexed as containing the body of "Chandra Bose". If Japan could take three photographs, why did it fail to have one more of the uncovered body to convince everyone that Bose actually died in the crash?

A death certificate of "Chandra Bose", issued by the Taihoku municipality in 1945, was given by Japan to the Shah Nawaz Committee as evidence of his death. This was in Japanese script and, when deciphered, was found to have been issued in the name of a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who did not die on August 18, 1945. Nor was the death due to burns but to heart failure. Both the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission neglected to make further inquiries into these documents or to find other relevant material from Japan.

Nehru remained impervious to suggestion about Netaji being in Russia although the "Intelligence Department of the Wavell Government" reported: "Subhas Chandra Bose wrote a letter to Nehru from Moscow seeking his help for his repatriation to India". As Prime Minister, Nehru made every effort to maintain very close and friendly relations with the erstwhile Soviet Union. But neither he nor any of his successors tried to seek information on Netaji. Nor did the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission ask them to get in touch with the former Soviet authorities to verify reports.

It was known that Nehru maintained a special file on Netaji. But the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission dared not ask the Government to produce it. A cryptic note was found/inside some of the official files supplied to the Khosla Commission, which contained a list of about 40 official files marked "either destroyed or missing".

MISSING FILES

One of them was mentioned as containing reports of "investigations into circumstances leading to death of Subhas Chandra Bose". Another Prime Minister's file (12)26/56-PM) was also shown as "since destroyed". Why were so many official files "destroyed" and "missing"?

A representation was made to the V.P. Singh Government for instituting a high-level "investigative inquiry". On June 7, 1990, he wrote to me: "...Regarding High Level Investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in USSR, U.K., Japan and USA, I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this..." But before any positive move could be initiated, his Government had to resign.

The move for starting a fresh inquiry was revived soon after the Chandra Shekhar Government had been installed. The President extended his moral support to the move and, in a letter on January 29, 1991, his Joint Secretary informed me that "The President has taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into..."

Finally, on March 26, 1991, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs informed me, in a letter, of the Government's decision to institute "An Investigative Inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji". He wrote: "Kindly refer to your letter on February 26, 1991, addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I would like to assure you that Ministry has already initiated the follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development". Again, before the parameter, procedure and modality of the proposed inquiry, the composition of the investigating team and other details could be decided upon, the Government resigned.

It is now time for the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government to complete the inquiry. This is a sacred national duty which it should perform without any faltering or dithering.

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UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Did Stalin Harbour Netaji?

By SAMAR GUHA

BORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose—the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of India Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while setting up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his aircraft crash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

VERY FRIENDLY

Bose's political attitude towards Russia was always very friendly. Indeed, after his escape from India, Bose planned to go to Stalin's Russia. But Soviet hesitation at a very critical moment forced him to go to Hitler's Germany. Although tactically Bose allied himself with the Axis Powers, yet he never made any adverse remark or acted at anytime against the Soviet Union while waging his campaign against the British Raj. He even dared, while sitting in the very den of Hitler, to make strong comments, and that too in writing, against the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR.

After reaching South-east Asia, Bose maintained secret political links with Jacob Malik, the then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Every senior member of Netaji's Government told the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that after the fall of Germany, Netaji's emissary contacted Malik. But what actually transpired between them is not known. Major General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari Kikan, the organization that liaised between the Government of Japan and the set-up of Netaji, and all other important INA witnesses, except Colonel Habibur Rahman, categorically told both the committee and commission that after Japan's defeat, Netaji's destination was the Soviet Union.

In this regard the most vital piece of information was given to Nehru's emissary, Mr Iyer, by Colonel Tada, who was entrusted by F. M. Terauchi, the Japanese chief of the S-E Command at Saigon, to plan and execute "Chandra Bose's" escape to the Soviet Union. The Shah Nawaz Committee could not record Col. Tada's evidence. Nehru secretly sent Mr Iyer, a former Propaganda Minister of Netaji's Government, in 1957 to ascertain the exact plan of Netaji.

In his report to Nehru, Iyer noted the version of Colonel Tada: "When Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Kaka Bose to reach Russian territory. It was arranged that 'Chandra Bose' would fly in a plane in which General Shodei was going (who was put in charge of the Manchurian Front after Russia declared war against

Japan). General Shodei was to look after Chandra Bose up to Dairen and thereafter he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russia". Colonel Tada told Iyer that his plan was to convey Bose to Manchuria.

In a statement in the Lok Sabha, Nehru read out only that portion of the report of Colonel Tada which supported the story of

THE author sifts through the evidence suggesting that Netaji did not die in an aircraft crash in 1945 and that he took refuge in Stalin's Russia instead. He urges Mr Boris Yeltsin to make public all the facts which the KGB files may contain on the episode.

Netaji's aircraft crash death. But the other vital parts of his report, which confirmed Netaji's plan to go to the Soviet Union, were kept from the Lok Sabha. The full facts came to be known only after the text of Mr Iyer's secret report to Nehru was placed before the Khosla Commission in 1970.

A PORTION

A portion of Mountbatten's Diary was submitted before the Shah Nawaz Committee, in which it has been recorded that Mountbatten received secret communication from Chungking after the Japanese broadcast of Bose's death. It stated: "The report of Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) posted in China informed Mountbatten by telegram on October 17, 1945 ... When Bose was preparing to leave Saigon with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family ... DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there".

Another report by British Intelligence submitted to the Wavell Government in early 1946 noted: "There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges Gandhi and Sarat Bose are also those who were aware of this". This report is also from the Government files placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee.

Shyamal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Asaf Ali, then working as secretary to the INA Defence Council, told the Khosla Commission that on December 26 or 27, 1945, he was asked by Nehru in the residence of Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which said: "Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1-30 afternoon. Bose, along with General Shodei, proceeded towards Russian territory. The jeep returned after about three hours". Nehru sent a copy of this letter with his own comments to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, which was also typed by Jain.

British Intelligence made another very vital report to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that "on 7th January, 1946, Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilazi Malang had been in touch with Bose in Russia and in December a report said that the Governor of Afgan province khost has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that Bose was in Moscow. ... Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul in Teheran, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia". (All these reports are from "Secret Government Files" submitted to the Khosla Commission).

However, the most startling revelation came from the report of R. F. Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1945. After discussing a number of alternatives on how to deal with Bose, Mudie concluded in his long report to Lord Wavell: "In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of course, be welcomed by the Russians". Mr Mudie's report was sent to Attlee

and it was discussed and approved by the British Cabinet.

The whole report submitted by Mudie was published after 30 years, in 1975, along with other documents in "The Transfer of Power". It so positively asserted the fact of Bose's going to the Soviet Union after the fake report of his death that it ought to have provoked the Indian Government to inquire from the USSR the exact truth behind the British report of Bose's escape to Russia after the end of World War II. But New Delhi remained insensitively indifferent.

While returning from Moscow after completing her term as the Indian Ambassador, Vijayalakshmi Pandit told reporters at Bombay airport that she would reveal to the Indian people something very sensational. The Press interpreted this as her personal knowledge about Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. But after meeting Nehru in Delhi she completely sealed her lips. Again, when she refused to appear before the Khosla Commission, the commission enquired of her in writing whether she knew anything about Bose's presence in the Soviet Union. Mrs Pandit avoided a direct answer by saying: "I have not met Subhas Babu after 1940".

The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarji and the historian himself.

AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhi nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhi's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhi repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhi indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhi was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received either from Delhi or Moscow. After Mr Gorbachyov came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?

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S.R. BOMMAI
PRESIDENT
JANATA DAL



DAR PATEL BHAVAN, 7 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD,
EW DELHI 110 001. PHONES : 3321833, 3321804

May 26, 1992

Dear Shri Venkataraman,

I am sending herewith a letter dated 21-4-92 alongwith enclosures, I have received from Prof. Samar Guha, ex-MP which speaks for itself.

As you are well aware there are many in the country, including senior leaders like Prof. Guha, who genuinely believe that Netaji Subash Chandra Bose is still alive and the reports to the contrary are either incorrect or untrue. I feel it is therefore necessary that their apprehensions are set at rest once for all by a full and thorough review of the investigations already made or a fresh enquiry fully involving leaders like Prof. Guha in it. I do hope you would kindly have urgent steps taken in that direction.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(S .R. BOMMAI)

Shri R.Venkataraman
President, India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
EX- MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

8/2 Central Park
Calcutta- 700 0

April 21, 1992

79

My dear Bommai ji,

I returned from Delhi with much hope as you assured me to take up the case of 'Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' which was first taken up by the Govt. of Shri V.P. Singh and thereafter by Shri Chandra Sekhar.

I would request you thus to:

- i. Write a letter to the President of India and the Prime Minister to take up the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji that was already started by the Two earlier Govts. of Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Chandra-Sekhar.
- ii. Write to Shri Biju Patnaik and to Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav for writing similar letters for Investigative Inquiry on Netaji to the President and the Prime Minister.
- iii Ask Shri Ram vilas Paswan and Shri Jaypal Reddy to send joining Petitions by the Janata Dal members of Lok Sabha ~~and~~ and Tajya Sabha to the President and the Prime Minister for holding a proper Investigative Inquiry about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, as has been already announced by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

I would earnestly request you to sent copies of your letters to me for keeping myself acquainted with all the developments regarding this issue.

With best wishes and namaskar,

Yours sincerely

Shri S.R. Bommai
President-Janata Dal
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi-110 001

Sd/-
(SAMAR GUHA)

S. NIJILINGAPPA
EX-CHIEF MINISTER OF
KARNATAKA

3 July 92

'VINAY' V.P. Extension
CHITRADURGA-577501
(Karnataka State)
Phone : 2550

Dear Prime Minister,

PS 607
1/9/92

I have enclosed for your kind consideration and necessary orders, the letter I have received dated 3rd June 1992 from Prof. Samar Guha, former member of Parliament regarding the necessity to find historical facts about the death of one of the illustrious, bravest, greatest freedom fighter and patriot who created history during the Indian freedom struggle specially during the war by his escaping from imprisonment and building up an Indian Army in Germany and Japan for the purpose. It has created glorious history. His death still remains a mystery as mischievous elements seem to have created a story that he died in a plane burning accident whereas the fact seems to be he died long afterwards in Russia. Prof. Guha has taken the trouble to study the entire problem in detail and publish a book which is convincing. On reading it I wrote to Mr. Gorbachev as well as others. But nothing has come out. It is necessary to keep records strait as what is involved in the history of one of the glorious lives of the Great of Indians. I therefore request and urge that you may please contact the Russian authorities and find out the truth. I earnestly hope you will do it.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely
[Signature]

5258-VII
22/7

Sri.P.V.Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi.

PM'S Personal Section

NO

5258-VII

DATE

17/7

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22/7
40/2/92
22/7/92

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



91

8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032

June 3/1992

Speed Post

Respected Nijalingappaji,

I hope by the grace of God you are keeping fit to maintain your movement to avail yourself for the service of the people. Whenever any report about you appears in the press I feel happy to see you still active at your present age.

I gratefully remember your appreciation of my book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive?' and your patriotic gesture in forwarding my letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev for revealing all facts in the possession of Russia about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking asylum in that country after fall of Japan.

* A letter recently found in the archive of the Princeton University of the USA written by Khurshed Bahn on March 1946 to Louis Fischer very much confirmed the report that Gandhiji had positive information about Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946.*

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a letter written to Shri Amiya Nath Bose, one of the nephew of Netaji, just a month before his death, told him that 'Something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death'. Unfortunately, it is now going to be 50 years since the dubious report about Netaji's death in the August 1945, but no determined effort has been made by any of our Govt. to know what really happened to him.

I am still persuing the matter and because of the patriotic initiative of our present President, Shri R.Venkatraman, the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar decided to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But because of the political changes the decision could not be worked-out.

Our President, Shri R.Venkatraman agreed to 'persue the matter' with the present Prime Minister, Shri Natasimha Raoji. Meanwhile, Shri L.K. Advani and other distinguished leaders wrote to the Prime Minister to work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to hold an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I would earnestly request you to write to the Prime Minister - i) to work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to hold an Investigative Inquiry into the secret documents that are believed to be in possession of the Govt. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan, Taiwan and our own Govt. and ii) write to the present Russian President, Mr. Borris Yeltsin, for revealing all facts about Netaji in possession of the Govt. of Russia.



82

Your letter to the Prime Minister will considerably set him thinking about the desirability of holding an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji.

I believe, as one of the old leader of the freedom movement, you will feel it as our sacred national duty to know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the Maha Kashatriya of modern India who gave his all for the liberation of his motherland.

I will be grateful to you if you kindly send me a copy of your letter to be sent to the Prime Minister.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Shri S.Nijalingappa
Former Chief Minister
Karnataka

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

PS: Enclosing i) my two recent articles published in the Statesman about Netaji's disappearance, and
ii) the decision of the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar for Investigative Inquiry, and
iii) a copy of the letter sent by me to the Prime Minister for your perusal.

(Letter to the Prime Minister has not been given to the press yet.)

*Enclosing a letter to the President
received yesterday.*



राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

New Delhi,
May 29, 1992.

Dear Sri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated
May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the
P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta - 700032.



No. 489/Dm/91



विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032

IS NETAJI DEAD?

Tale Of Incomplete Inquiries

By SAMAR GUHA

WHILE conferring the Bharat Ratna on Subhas Chandra Bose, an ill-conceived move in itself, the Union Government chose to describe it as "posthumous". If the Government is so sure about Netaji's death, why has it not let Indians know when, where and under what circumstances he died?

The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz committee while instituting the Khosla Commission "to inquire into Netaji's disappearance" after the fall of Japan on August 15, 1945. The Morarji Desai Government, in its turn, rejected the findings of the Khosla commission in an official statement to the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978. Just a year ago, the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to hold an "investigative inquiry" to solve the pending issue of "disappearance". How, then, can the present Government accept the "death" as a settled fact?

RE-EXAMINATION

While rejecting the findings of the two inquiries, Mr Desai argued that examination of all available documents would be more profitable than a fresh public inquiry, for the situation in the countries which had helped Netaji in all his activities, changed radically after World War II, and the people who could give positive evidence on his movements at the time of the surrender of Japan were either dead or not easily traceable. But, before such thinking could be transformed into concrete steps, the Morarji Desai Government went out of power.

What are the documents which can still provide positive clues to Netaji's whereabouts after the fall of Japan? After listening to the Tokyo broadcast on August 23, 1945, about Netaji's "death" in an air crash at Taihoku airfield on August 18, Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, wrote in his Diary: "I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It is just what would be given out if he wanted to go underground". Similar suspicions were shared by Britain and the USA. Admiral Mountbatten of the South East Allied Command, General MacArthur of the Pacific Army and the Administration of British India started three separate inquiries to verify statements made in the broadcast.

The report of Mountbatten's inquiry was not published or made available to either the Shah Nawaz committee or the Khosla Commission. Only a few pages of Mountbatten's personal diary were produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee which rather strengthened the suspicion that news of Bose's death was no more than a "story" circulated by Japan. MacArthur's inquiry report also remained a sealed document. The eminent jurist, Radhabinode Pal, claimed to have learnt from his American colleague on the Tokyo War Criminal Trial that MacArthur's report greatly disbelieved the story of Bose's death. Findings of this two inquiries were very vital to ascertaining whether the Tokyo broadcast was accurate or not. Unfortunately, no effort was made at any time by any Indian Government to collect these inquiry reports from Britain and the USA.

As for the Wavell inquiry,

something was made known to the Shah Nawaz Committee unofficially confirming the report of Netaji's death. The principal investigative officer of this inquiry, B.C. Chakraborty, told

It is Samar Guha's contention that whether Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945, has not been established conclusively. The former M.P. wants the Union Government to examine all available documents with care.

the Khosla Commission in the course of his evidence: "Colonel Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese concealed facts regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945. None of the British or Allied Command believed the information about Netaji's death to be correct." The then Home Secretary of the Wavell Government also declined to accept the death report as true as has been revealed in his lengthy communication to the Atlee Government published among the Transfer of Power documents in 1975. He hinted that Bose, in all probability, took shelter in Stalin's Russia.

Nehru did not allow the Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taihoku in 1956 to hold an on-the-spot inquiry. But the Khosla Commission was permitted to do so. Although the Mayor of Taipei had conducted an inquiry into the air crash, Justice Khosla refused to ask the Taiwan Government for a copy of the report on the plea that since India had no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, such a request would not be admissible. But Mr Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs of that time, denied in the Lok Sabha that any such instruction had been issued to Justice Khosla. This inquiry report was very important in the sense the investigation was made immediately after the occupation of Formosa by the Chiang Kai-shek administration in late 1945. According to a number of M.P.s who visited Taiwan, the Taipei Mayor told them that his inquiry did not elicit any proof of Bose's death in an air crash.

NO PROOF

The first set of Japanese documents produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee was extremely dubious. There were three photographs, one of an urn marked as carrying Bose's ashes, another of Colonel Habibur Rahman with his face bandaged and a third of a covered bundle indexed as containing the body of "Chandra Bose". If Japan could take three photographs, why did it fail to have one more of the uncovered body to convince everyone that Bose actually died in the crash?

A death certificate of "Chandra Bose", issued by the Taihoku municipality in 1945, was given by Japan to the Shah Nawaz Committee as evidence of his death. This was in Japanese script and, when deciphered, was found to have been issued in the name of a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who did not die on August 18, 1945. Nor was the death due to burns but to heart failure. Both the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission neglected to make further inquiries into these documents or to find other relevant material from Japan.

Nehru remained impervious to suggestion about Netaji being in Russia although the "Intelligence Department of the Wavell Government" reported: "Subhas Chandra Bose wrote a letter to Nehru from Moscow seeking his help for his repatriation to India". As Prime Minister, Nehru made every effort to maintain very close and friendly relations with the erstwhile Soviet Union. But neither he nor any of his successors tried to seek information on Netaji. Nor did the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission ask them to get in touch with the former Soviet authorities to verify reports.

It was known that Nehru maintained a special file on Netaji. But the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission dared not ask the Government to produce it. A cryptic note was found inside some of the official files supplied to the Khosla Commission, which contained a list of about 40 official files marked "either destroyed or missing".

MISSING FILES

One of them was mentioned as containing reports of "investigations into circumstances leading to death of Subhas Chandra Bose". Another Prime Minister's file (12)26/56-PM was also shown as "since destroyed". Why were so many official files "destroyed" and "missing"?

A representation was made to the V.P. Singh Government for instituting a high-level "investigative inquiry". On June 7, 1990, he wrote to me: "...Regarding High Level Investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in USSR, U.K., Japan and USA, I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this..." But before any positive move could be initiated, his Government had to resign.

The move for starting a fresh inquiry was revived soon after the Chandra Shekhar Government had been installed. The President extended his moral support to the move and, in a letter on January 29, 1991, his Joint Secretary informed me that "The President has taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into..."

Finally, on March 26, 1991, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs informed me, in a letter, of the Government's decision to institute "An Investigative Inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji". He wrote: "Kindly refer to your letter on February 26, 1991, addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I would like to assure you that Ministry has already initiated the follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development". Again, before the parameter, procedure and modality of the proposed inquiry, the composition of the investigating team and other details could be decided upon, the Government resigned.

It is now time for the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government to complete the inquiry. This is a sacred national duty which it should perform without any faltering or dithering.

UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Did Stalin Harbour Netaji?

By SAMAR GUHA

BORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while setting up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his aircrash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

VERY FRIENDLY

Bose's political attitude towards Russia was always very friendly. Indeed, after his escape from India, Bose planned to go to Stalin's Russia. But Soviet hesitation at a very critical moment forced him to go to Hitler's Germany. Although tactically Bose allied himself with the Axis Powers, yet he never made any adverse remark or acted at anytime against the Soviet Union while waging his campaign against the British Raj. He even dared, while sitting in the very den of Hitler, to make strong comments, and that too in writing, against the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR.

After reaching South-east Asia, Bose maintained secret political links with Jacob Malik, the then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Every senior member of Netaji's Government told the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that after the fall of Germany, Netaji's emissary contacted Malik. But what actually transpired between them is not known. Major-General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari Kikan, the organization that liaised between the Government of Japan and the set-up of Netaji, and all other important INA witnesses, except Colonel Habibur Rahman, categorically told both the committee and commission that after Japan's defeat, Netaji's destination was the Soviet Union.

In this regard the most vital piece of information was given to Nehru's emissary, Mr Iyer, by Colonel Tada, who was entrusted by F. M. Terauchi, the Japanese chief of the S.E. Command at Saigon, to plan and execute "Chandra Bose's" escape to the Soviet Union. The Shah Nawaz Committee could not record Col. Tada's evidence. Nehru secretly sent Mr Iyer, a former Propaganda Minister of Netaji's Government, in 1957 to ascertain the exact plan of Netaji.

In his report to Nehru, Iyer noted the version of Colonel Tada: "When Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Kaka Bose to reach Russian territory. It was arranged that 'Chandra Bose' would fly in a plane in which General Shedei was going (who was put in charge of the Manchurian Front after Russia declared war against

Japan). General Shedei was to look after Chandra Bose up to Dairen and thereafter he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russia". Colonel Tada told Iyer that his plan was to convey Bose to Manchuria.

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THE author sifts through the evidence suggesting that Netaji did not die in an aircrash in 1945 and that he took refuge in Stalin's Russia instead. He urges Mr Boris Yeltsin to make public all the facts which the KGB files may contain on the episode.

Netaji's aircrash death. But the other vital parts of his report, which confirmed Netaji's plan to go to the Soviet Union, were kept from the Lok Sabha. The full facts came to be known only after the text of Mr Iyer's secret report to Nehru was placed before the Khosla Commission in 1970.

A PORTION

A portion of Mountbatten's Diary was submitted before the Shah Nawaz Committee, in which it has been recorded that Mountbatten received secret communication from Chungking after the Japanese broadcast of Bose's death. It stated: "The report of Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) posted in China informed Mountbatten by telegram on October 17, 1945 ... When Bose was preparing to leave Saigon with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family ... DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there".

Another report by British Intelligence submitted to the Wavell Government in early 1946 noted: "There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are also those who were aware of this". This report is also from the Government files placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee.

Shyam Lal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Asaf Ali, then working as secretary to the INA Defence Council, told the Khosla Commission that on December 26 or 27, 1945, he was asked by Nehru in the residence of Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which said: "Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1-30 afternoon. Bose, along with General Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory. The jeep returned after about three hours". Nehru sent a copy of this letter with his own comments to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, which was also typed by Jain.

British Intelligence made another very vital report to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that "on 7th January, 1946, Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilazi Malang had been in touch with Bose in Russia and in December a report said that the Governor of Afgan province khosht has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that Bose was in Moscow. ... Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul in Teheran, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia". (All these reports are from "Secret Government Files" submitted to the Khosla Commission).

However, the most startling revelation came from the report of R. F. Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1945. After discussing a number of alternatives on how to deal with Bose, Mudie concluded in his long report to Lord Wavell: "In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of course, be welcomed by the Russians". Mr Mudie's report was sent to Attlee

and it was discussed and approved by the British Cabinet.

The whole report submitted by Mudie was published after 30 years, in 1975, along with other documents in "The Transfer of Power". It so positively asserted the fact of Bose's going to the Soviet Union after the fake report of his death that it ought to have provoked the Indian Government to inquire from the USSR the exact truth behind the British report of Bose's escape to Russia after the end of World War II. But New Delhi remained insensitively indifferent.

While returning from Moscow after completing her term as the Indian Ambassador, Vijaylakshmi Pandit told reporters at Bombay airport that she would reveal to the Indian people something very sensational. The Press interpreted this as her personal knowledge about Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. But after meeting Nehru in Delhi she completely sealed her lips. Again, when she refused to appear before the Khosla Commission, the commission enquired of her in writing whether she knew anything about Bose's presence in the Soviet Union. Mrs Pandit avoided a direct answer by saying: "I have not met Subhas Babu after 1940".

The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarji and the historian himself.

AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhiji's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhiji repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhi indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhiji was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received either from Delhi or Moscow. After Mr Gorbachov came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi.
July 13, 1992

Dear Nijilingappaji,

I have received your letter of July 3,
1992 enclosing a letter from Prof. Samar Guha.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao

[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri S. Nijilingappa
'Vinay' V.P. Extension
Chitradurga - 577 501
Karnataka

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CHIEF MINISTER
WEST BENGAL



D.O. No. 179-CM

Calcutta,
July 16, 1992.

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Dear Prime Minister,

I enclose for your perusal copy of a letter (with enclosures) which I received from Shri Samar Guha, Ex. M. P. on July, 15, 1992. The letter contains a request to conduct a fresh enquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose during the last phase of pre-Independence years.

Would you kindly have a look into it to see whether anything further can be done to settle the questions raised?

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Jyoti Basu
(Jyoti Basu)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

PM'S Personal Section

DI NO 201/418

DATE 23/7

8652-101/92
24/7



July 15, 1992

Dear Jyoti Bahu,

Distinguished members of the Calcutta Citizen's Committee highly appreciated your positive response to our request to you to write to the Prime Minister for instituting an Investigative Inquiry to resolve the pending issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, since the fall of Japan in 1945. When the members of the Citizen's Committee namely, late Sunil Das, Dr. Sushil Mukherjee, Dr. Arabinda Bose, Dr. M.M.Chakraborty, Dr. Chintamony Kar, Prof. Amiya Majumdar, Dr. Debidas Basu, myself and others met the President of India, Shri R. Venkatraman at Calcutta Raj Bhavan to present a Memorandum to him for advising the Prime Minister to hold an Investigative Inquiry about Netaji, the President while agreeing to our request, requested us to directly approach the Prime Minister as well.

I believe, before your visit abroad, you will surely write to the Prime Minister for holding such inquiry about Netaji. If occasion arises to meet the Prime Minister it will be very helpful if you to draw his attention about the nation's unfulfilled duty to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to finally know what ultimately happened to Netaji.

The Govt. of Mrs. Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1970 and the Govt. of Shri Morarji Desai refused to accept the findings of the Khosla Commission by making a statement in the Parliament in Sept 1979. About a year before the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar decided to hold a High Level Investigative Inquiry to resolve the mystery about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In the background of the above facts, you may kindly pin-point the main thrust of your letter to the Prime Minister on :

- (i) To hold a High Level Investigative Inquiry to find out the secret documents available with the Govts. of the UK, USA, Japan, Taiwan and Russia and conclusions arrived at by the inquiries made by Genl. Mac Arthur, Adml. Mountbatten the Viceray of India, Lord Wavell and the Govt. of Taiwan about the report of Netaji's death. Many undisclosed documents that are still lying with the Govt. of India should also be scrupulously examined.
- (ii) The Prime Minister should write to the President of Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, for revealing all facts in posse-

92
ssion of the Russian Govt., mentioning about various authentic reports that came to the Govt. of Wavell and the UK and the USA about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking asylum in former Soviet Union after fall of Japan.

- (iii) Examining all the official documents in the archives of the Jap-Govt. regarding the report of alleged aircrash at Taihoku (Taipai) on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Jyoti Babu! Your letter to the Prime Minister in the present circumstances of Indian politics will have much effective impact. If you write to the Prime Minister for holding an Investigative Inquiry to settle the mystery about disappearance of Netaji and if you give this letter to the press, the people of India and more specially the people of Bengal will hail you heartily and bless you from every corners.

With regards and namaskar,

Shri Jyoti Basu
Chief Minister, WB
Writers Building
Calcutta 700001

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha
(SAMAR GUHA)

PS: For reference, kindly take hlp of the book: 'Netaji - Dead or Alive?' and other papers and documents that I have given you.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032

SPEED POST

21 May 1992

Dear Prime Minister,

This letter addressed to you is not for any political purpose, but on the patriotic mission to make a supreme effort by our Govt. to know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

About 3 months before Pandit Nehru passed away he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji, that 'I have no direct and precise proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. Then again just a month before he breathed his last, Nehruji wrote to Amiya Nath Bose a nephew of Netaji, 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalize the matter of the Netaji's death.'

But so many years passed, this extremely poignant issue about Netaji's destiny, after fall of Japan, remained hanging in uncertain haze.

Perhaps, your Govt. unwarily used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna in the name of Netaji. Administratively, the matter of 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' still remained an open issue before the Govt. of India.

You know that in 1956 Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had set up Shah Nawaz Committee to 'inquire into the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death'. In 1970 the Govt. of Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the 'findings' of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting 'Khosla Commission of judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'.

For making many unsavoury remarks about Netaji in his Inquiry Report and for adopting some unethical steps before his report was placed in Lok Sabha, justice Khosla had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. Thus, the Chairman of the one-man Inquiry Commission himself knocked out the very moral and legal basis of his Inquiry Report.

On Sept 3, 1978, in reply to a debate raised by me in Lok Sabha Shri Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission (Document No.1). Morarjibhai then suggested an Investigative Inquiry to 'finalize' the issue of disappearance of Netaji instead of holding any further public inquiry. But he could't work-out his suggestion for sudden political change.

I took up the issue of instituting an Investigative Inquiry by a 'High Level Expert Committee' with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh and thereafter the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was essentially because of the very patriotic initiative of the President of India in this regard

97



Shri V.P. Singh agreed to 'look into the matter'. However, it was the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar, later, which took the decision to 'start an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. (Document No.2).

This decision was also possible because the President of India personally asked Shri Chandra Sekhar to take up this pending patriotic issue for resolving the haze about Netaji's disappearance.

But before the parameter, procedure and modality and the expert team of investigators could be decided upon political changes again stalled the proposed move for Netaji-Inquiry.

According to administrative tradition and practice as generally followed in our system of Parliamentary democracy it now devolves on the present Govt. to work-out the decision of the previous Govt. to hold a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.'

However, the moral and patriotic aspect of this task is no less important. You are a veteran freedom fighter and had many occasions to see and meet the fiery Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, before his epoch-making escape from the clutch of British Raj in 1941. I am sure you will feel the pulse of the urge of our unfulfilled national duty to know the truth what really happened to the greatest revolutionary hero of the struggle of our national liberation. The days of political prejudices of the past Congress politics are now over. Indian people will hail you as a great patriot if you take proper and effective steps to institute 'A high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' to 'finalise' the matter what Nehruji felt just a month before his death.

'High Level Investigative Inquiry by an expert Committee' means to find out effective diplomatic ways for securing, searching, scanning and scrutinizing all facts, reports, documents and informations about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in connection with the report of his death in the alleged air crash and, alternately, his escape into Soviet Russia that are expected to be available with the Govts. of UK, Japan, USA, USSR and Taiwan.

It is known that immediately after broadcast by Tokyo Radio on 23rd August 1945 about the reported death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose the Wavell Govt. of India, the S.E. Asia Allied Command under Adml. Mountbatten (later Viceroy of India), Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army had set-up three separate inquiries to investigate about the truth behind the very



dubious report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in the alleged aircrash. Soon after occupation of Formosa in late 1945 by the Chiang-Ki-Shek Govt. the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify the report of Subhas Chandra Bose's death in the aircrash at Taipai (former Taihoku).

None of these inquiry reports have ever been published.

The Reports that Netaji entered into former Soviet Russia soon after fall of Japan in 1945 for seeking asylum there have been variously communicated by British intelligence sources to the Govt. of Wavell. The document of the Home Secretary of the Wavell Govt. published in 'Transfer of Power' 42-47 the British Govt. in 1975 and the latest document in the form of a letter of Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, written in March 1946 to the US journalist Louis Fischer very recently found in the 'Archive of the Princeton University of the USA' positively hinted Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 (Document No.3).

All these documents about disappearance of Netaji are expected to be found from the Govt. of UK, USA, Japan, Russia and Taiwan.

Many other documents will be found from the internal sources of our Govt. and from the proceedings of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. There are other sources also.

But to make the Investigative Inquiry a success it will require an initiative at the highest level by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Affairs office and formation of a team of highly experienced intelligence and judicial, legal experts to deal with all available documents, found externally and internally.

A highest level contact with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia to persuade him to reveal all papers in possession of KGB of the Soviet Govt. is likely to resolve the riddle of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This will be possible only if you take initiative to effectively approach the Russian President, Yeltsin.

I met our President Shri R.Venkatraman, about a month before to request him to take up again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji with you. He gracefully agreed to 'pursue the matter'. He asked me also to see you for the purpose. I was very eager to go to Delhi to explain to you all the background facts concerning the issue. But, by ill luck, I am very unwell to go to Delhi now. However, I hope to see our President and Prime Minister next month if God wills it.

96
PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



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Dear Narasimha Raoji! I eagerly believe that you will take up the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a High Level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and fulfill a long unfulfilled task of our nation to our beloved Netaji.

I am enclosing two articles recently published in the Statesman on the issue of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji and the probability of Netaji's taking asylum in Russia. I am also sending my documentary book, 'Netaji, Dead or Alive?' dealing with all aspects of Netaji's disappearance after fall of Japan for your careful examination.

I know you may not have time to go through this long letter and read my book. But I will make a request to you as an old colleague of yours, in Lok Sabha and in the Privilege Committee and as one who had also a humble part in the freedom struggle of India as a younger associate of Netaji to kindly go through my letter including the enclosed documents and two articles personally.

I would further request you to give my book to any expert body to go through its scanning as did Shri Morarji Desai in 1978. This book is wholly based on documents available from the sources of the Govt. of India. This book ~~## ####~~ convinced a hyper-rigid man like Shri Morarji Desai about the necessity of instituting an Investigative Inquiry to reach a final conclusion about the hanging issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
South Bloc
NEW DELHI 110011

Yours sincerely,

(SAMAR GUHA)

Encl: As stated.

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The Book that Knocked Down
the Findings of
Shah Nawaz Committee
And
Khosla Commission

Shri Morarji Desai

The then Prime Minister of India
Announced in Lok Sabha
on September 3, 1978 :

"Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive."

"I may sometimes differ from my hon. friend Samar Guha but I can never doubt, even in my sleep, his sincerity. I have great admiration for the dedication with which he is pursuing the cause."



No 489/DM/91

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विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear P. 207 Samar Guha

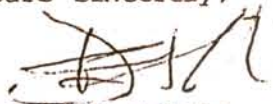
Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032



सत्यमेव जयते
राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

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New Delhi,
May 29, 1992.

Dear Sri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated
May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the
P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. Venkataraman

R. VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta - 700032.

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IS NETAJI DEAD?

Tale Of Incomplete Inquiries

By SAMAR GUHA

WHILE conferring the Bharat Ratna on Subhas Chandra Bose, an ill-conceived move in itself, the Union Government chose to describe it as "posthumous". If the Government is so sure about Netaji's death, why has it not let Indians know when, where and under what circumstances he died?

The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz committee while instituting the Khosla Commission "to inquire into Netaji's disappearance" after the fall of Japan on August 15, 1945. The Morarji Desai Government, in its turn, rejected the findings of the Khosla commission in an official statement to the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978. Just a year ago, the Chandra Shekhar Government decided to hold an "investigative inquiry" to solve the pending issue of "disappearance". How, then, can the present Government accept the "death" as a settled fact?

RE-EXAMINATION

While rejecting the findings of the two inquiries, Mr Desai argued that examination of all available documents would be more profitable than a fresh public inquiry, for the situation in the countries which had helped Netaji in all his activities, changed radically after World War II, and the people who could give positive evidence on his movements at the time of the surrender of Japan were either dead or not easily traceable. But, before such thinking could be transformed into concrete steps, the Morarji Desai Government went out of power.

What are the documents which can still provide positive clues to Netaji's whereabouts after the fall of Japan? After listening to the Tokyo broadcast on August 23, 1945, about Netaji's "death" in an air crash at Taihoku airfield on August 18, Lord Wavell, then Viceroy of India, wrote in his Diary: "I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It is just what would be given out if he wanted to go underground". Similar suspicions were shared by Britain and the USA. Admiral Mountbatten of the South East Allied Command, General MacArthur of the U.S. Pacific Army and the Wavell administration of British India started three separate inquiries to verify statements made in the broadcast.

The report of Mountbatten's inquiry was not published or made available to either the Shah Nawaz committee or the Khosla Commission. Only a few pages of Mountbatten's personal diary were produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee which rather strengthened the suspicion that news of Bose's death was no more than a "story" circulated by Japan. MacArthur's inquiry report also remained a sealed document. The eminent jurist, Radhabinode Pal, claimed to have learnt from his American colleague on the Tokyo War Criminal Trial that MacArthur's report greatly disbelieved the story of Bose's death. Findings of this two inquiries were very vital to ascertaining whether the Tokyo broadcast was accurate or not. Unfortunately, no effort was made at any time by any Indian Government to collect these inquiry reports from Britain and the USA.

As for the Wavell inquiry,

something was made known to the Shah Nawaz Committee unofficially confirming the report of Netaji's death. The principal investigative officer of this inquiry, B.C. Chakraborty, told

It is Samar Guha's contention that whether Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945, has not been established conclusively. The former M.P. wants the Union Government to examine all available documents with care.

the Khosla Commission in the course of his evidence: "Colonel Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese concealed facts regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945. None of the British or Allied Command believed the information about Netaji's death to be correct." The then Home Secretary of the Wavell Government also declined to accept the death report as true as has been revealed in his lengthy communication to the Atlee Government published among the Transfer of Power documents in 1975. He hinted that Bose, in all probability, took shelter in Stalin's Russia.

Nehru did not allow the Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taihoku in 1956 to hold an on-the-spot inquiry. But the Khosla Commission was permitted to do so. Although the Mayor of Taipei had conducted an inquiry into the air crash, Justice Khosla refused to ask the Taiwan Government for a copy of the report on the plea that since India had no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, such a request would not be admissible. But Mr Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs of that time, denied in the Lok Sabha that any such instruction had been issued to Justice Khosla. This inquiry report was very important in the sense the investigation was made immediately after the occupation of Formosa by the Chiang Kai-shek administration in late 1945. According to a number of M.P.s who visited Taiwan, the Taipei Mayor told them that his inquiry did not elicit any proof of Bose's death in an air crash.

NO PROOF

The first set of Japanese documents produced before the Shah Nawaz Committee was extremely dubious. There were three photographs, one of an urn marked as carrying Bose's ashes, another of Colonel Habibur Rahman with his face bandaged and a third of a covered bundle indexed as containing the body of "Chandra Bose". If Japan could take three photographs, why did it fail to have one more of the uncovered body to convince everyone that Bose actually died in the crash?

A death certificate of "Chandra Bose", issued by the Taihoku municipality in 1945, was given by Japan to the Shah Nawaz Committee as evidence of his death. This was in Japanese script and, when deciphered, was found to have been issued in the name of a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who did not die on August 18, 1945. Nor was the death due to burns but to heart failure. Both the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission neglected to make further inquiries into these documents or to find other relevant material from Japan.

Nehru remained impervious to suggestion about Netaji being in Russia although the "Intelligence Department of the Wavell Government" reported: "Subhas Chandra Bose wrote a letter to Nehru from Moscow seeking his help for his repatriation to India". As Prime Minister, Nehru made every effort to maintain very close and friendly relations with the erstwhile Soviet Union. But neither he nor any of his successors tried to seek information on Netaji. Nor did the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission ask them to get in touch with the former Soviet authorities to verify reports.

It was known that Nehru maintained a special file on Netaji. But the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission dared not ask the Government to produce it. A cryptic note was found inside some of the official files supplied to the Khosla Commission, which contained a list of about 40 official files marked "either destroyed or missing".

MISSING FILES

One of them was mentioned as containing reports of "investigations into circumstances leading to death of Subhas Chandra Bose". Another Prime Minister's file (12)26/56-PM was also shown as "since destroyed". Why were so many official files "destroyed" and "missing"?

A representation was made to the V.P. Singh Government for instituting a high-level "investigative inquiry". On June 7, 1990, he wrote to me: "...Regarding High Level Investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in USSR, U.K., Japan and USA, I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this..." But before any positive move could be initiated, his Government had to resign.

The move for starting a fresh inquiry was revived soon after the Chandra Shekhar Government had been installed. The President extended his moral support to the move and, in a letter on January 29, 1991, his Joint Secretary informed me that "The President has taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into..."

Finally, on March 26, 1991, the Deputy Minister for External Affairs informed me: in a letter, of the Government's decision to institute "An Investigative Inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji". He wrote: "Kindly refer to your letter on February 26, 1991, addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I would like to assure you that Ministry has already initiated the follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development". Again, before the parameter, procedure and modality of the proposed inquiry, the composition of the investigating team and other details could be decided upon, the Government resigned.

It is now time for the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government to complete the inquiry. This is a sacred national duty which it should perform without any faltering or dithering.

UNSOLVED MYSTERY

Did Stalin Harbour Netaji?

By SAMAR GUHA

BORIS Yeltsin is now the supreme champion of freedom and democracy in Russia. He is naturally expected to be free from all Stalinist inhibitions and ruthless secrecy. The Indian people will now earnestly hope that the new Russian President will tell the Indian people what Russia knows about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom.

What really happened to Netaji still remains a mystery. The Government of Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while setting up the second inquiry commission under Justice Khosla. The Khosla Commission's conclusions have also been rejected by the Morarji Desai Government. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on September 3, 1978, the then Prime Minister observed: "Some contemporary records have been available. In the light of doubts and contradictions and those records, the Government finds it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions (of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission) are decisive". If so, then what ultimately happened to Netaji?

After the fall of Japan in August 1945, Netaji, in all probability, went to Russia. This is not just a sentimental belief or mere conjecture. Subhas Chandra Bose successfully managed to enter Russian territory via Manchuria under the camouflage of the report of his air crash death on August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, now Taipei, in Taiwan. There is enough circumstantial evidence, documentary reports and other auxiliary testimonials to justify this conclusion.

VERY FRIENDLY

Bose's political attitude towards Russia was always very friendly. Indeed, after his escape from India, Bose planned to go to Stalin's Russia. But Soviet hesitation at a very critical moment forced him to go to Hitler's Germany. Although tactically Bose allied himself with the Axis Powers, yet he never made any adverse remark or acted at anytime against the Soviet Union while waging his campaign against the British Raj. He even dared, while sitting in the very den of Hitler, to make strong comments, and that too in writing, against the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR.

After reaching South-east Asia, Bose maintained secret political links with Jacob Malik, the then Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. Every senior member of Netaji's Government told the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission that after the fall of Germany, Netaji's emissary contacted Malik. But what actually transpired between them is not known. Major-General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari Kikan, the organization that liaised between the Government of Japan and the set-up of Netaji, and all other important INA witnesses, except Colonel Habibur Rahman, categorically told both the committee and commission that after Japan's defeat, Netaji's destination was the Soviet Union.

In this regard the most vital piece of information was given to Nehru's emissary, Mr Iyer, by Colonel Tada, who was entrusted by F. M. Terauchi, the Japanese chief of the S.-E. Command at Saigon, to plan and execute "Chandra Bose's" escape to the Soviet Union. The Shah Nawaz Committee could not record Col. Tada's evidence. Nehru secretly sent Mr Iyer, a former Propaganda Minister of Netaji's Govern-

ment, General Shedei was to look after Chandra Bose up to Dairen and thereafter he could fall back on his own resources to contact Russia". Colonel Tada told Iyer that his plan was to convey Bose to Manchuria.

In a statement in the Lok Sabha, Nehru read out only that portion of the report of Colonel Tada which supported the story of

THE author sifts through the evidence suggesting that Netaji did not die in an air crash in 1945 and that he took refuge in Stalin's Russia instead. He urges Mr Boris Yeltsin to make public all the facts which the KGB files may contain on the episode.

Netaji's air crash death. But the other vital parts of his report, which confirmed Netaji's plan to go to the Soviet Union, were kept from the Lok Sabha. The full facts came to be known only after the text of Mr Iyer's secret report to Nehru was placed before the Khosla Commission in 1970.

A PORTION

A portion of Mountbatten's Diary was submitted before the Shah Nawaz Committee, in which it has been recorded that Mountbatten received secret communication from Chungking after the Japanese broadcast of Bose's death. It stated: "The report of Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) posted in China informed Mountbatten by telegram on October 17, 1945 ... When Bose was preparing to leave Saigon with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family ... DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there".

Another report by British Intelligence submitted to the Wavell Government in early 1946 noted: "There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. The information alleges Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are also those who were aware of this". This report is also from the Government files placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee.

Shyam Lal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Asaf Ali, then working as secretary to the INA Defence Council, told the Khosla Commission that on December 26 or 27, 1945, he was asked by Nehru in the residence of Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which said: "Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1-30 afternoon. Bose, along with General Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory. The jeep returned after about three hours". Nehru sent a copy of this letter with his own comments to the Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, which was also typed by Jain.

British Intelligence made another very vital report to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that "on 7th January, 1946, Pravda denied in strong terms that Bose was in Russia. Before this, however, Ghilazi Malang had been in touch with Bose in Russia and in December a report said that the Governor of Afgan province khost has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that Bose was in Moscow. ... Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul in Teheran, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia". (All these reports are from "Secret Government Files" submitted to the Khosla Commission).

However, the most startling revelation of the Viceroy's Council in 1945. After discussing a number of alternatives on how to deal with Bose, Mudie concluded in his long report to Lord Wavell: "In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him (Bose) where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of course, be welcomed by the Russians". Mr Mudie's report was sent to Atlee

and it was discussed and approved by the British Cabinet.

The whole report submitted by Mudie was published after 30 years, in 1975, along with other documents in "The Transfer of Power". It so positively asserted the fact of Bose's going to the Soviet Union after the fake report of his death that it ought to have provoked the Indian Government to inquire from the USSR the exact truth behind the British report of Bose's escape to Russia after the end of World War II. But New Delhi remained insensitively indifferent.

While returning from Moscow after completing her term as the Indian Ambassador, Vijaylakshmi Pandit told reporters at Bombay airport that she would reveal to the Indian people something very sensational. The Press interpreted this as her personal knowledge about Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. But after meeting Nehru in Delhi she completely sealed her lips. Again, when she refused to appear before the Khosla Commission, the commission enquired of her in writing whether she knew anything about Bose's presence in the Soviet Union. Mrs Pandit avoided a direct answer by saying: "I have not met Subhas Babu after 1940".

The historian R. C. Majumdar told Mr Morarji Desai, when the latter was India's Prime Minister, that Dr Radhakrishnan had informed his friend Saroj Das of Calcutta University that he came to know that Bose had been kept in captivity in the USSR by Stalin. Dr Majumdar communicated this information to others also and I came to know about it both from Morarjibhai and the historian himself.

AT HEART

Dr Bhairab Bhattacharya, an Indian scientist in Princeton, found in the university archives a letter addressed to the American journalist, Louis Fischer, in 1946 by Khurshed Ben, one of the most trusted inmates of the Wardha Gandhi Ashram. In her letter, she asked Fischer to prevail upon the U.S. President for exerting pressure on the British Government to concede immediately freedom to India. She added: "At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also, (if) Russia, for propaganda purposes, declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India".

This letter corroborates Gandhiji's knowledge about Netaji's going to the Soviet Union and it also explains why Gandhiji repeatedly said in 1946: "I believe Subhas is alive". Even after the Red Fort Trial of INA men in 1946, he told Colonel Habibur Rahman: "Habib, whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is alive". All the statements of Gandhiji indirectly confirmed British Intelligence reports to Lord Wavell that Gandhiji was aware of Bose's presence in the USSR.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India, I met him at Rashtrapati Bhavan on November 29, 1973, as leader of the Socialist Party in the Lok Sabha and presented a three-page memorandum in which was outlined the reasons why India believed that Bose was given shelter by Stalin after he escaped to Siberia on August 23, 1945. A request was made that Moscow reveal all the facts about Netaji. But no reply was received. Later, when the USSR came to power, another letter was sent to him on the same subject, which too went unanswered.

Now that the Soviet Union no longer exists, would it be too much to expect a leader like Mr Yeltsin to reveal all the facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, which may lie buried in the KGB files?

104

22/7/66

Dear Fischer.

I enclose a copy of
Gandhi's letter as desired by
you. But please don't think
that he is not with us.

I have been with him since
my release from prison & he
put the Constitutive Programme
before the council which was
overlooked by the Working
Committee when they decided on
constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues
of the Working Council he has gone
with them but they were not
prepared to go with him but
Gandhi is essentially a man
of action when the time

2.

105

comes, he will take the
country with him.

The Socialists are merely
implying the Constitutive
Programme in the light of
present circumstances. We must
go ~~down~~ to the people. Forge
mass sanctions. The people
want to know the shape of
things to come. Grasping of the
provinces or the question of
sovereignty does not touch ~~the~~
^{them} ~~people~~, they want a plan.
Let our leaders go to the
great sponsored Constituent Assembly
we remain with the people
to have their joys & sorrows.
When the time comes we shall

4.

107/

up to fight the Congress we'll
have to deal with them now. They
are going underground & by the
time the Allies (excluding Russia) have
a scrap with Soviet Russia India
is not satisfied with the results
of the Constituent Assembly, she will
go over entirely absolutely to the
enemies of the Allies. The Indian
army (not the Indian National Army)
is no longer of the same temper as
it was in the first world war.
Besides the disaffection amongst
the Indian Officers & the rank file,
a revolutionary group has been working
amongst them they are pro Russian.
There have been many cases of
court martial on individuals & plots

108/

5

during the last war both in India
abroad. There have been mass
desertions in the regular army
+ minor scraps in the N. I. F. Province
at the beginning of the ^{last} war.
At heart the Indian army is sympathetic
with the Indian National Army.
If Bose comes with the help of
Russia neither Gandhiji nor the
Congress will be able to connect
with the country. Also Russia
for propaganda purposes declares
itself an Asiatic country then
there is no hope of any European
alliance acceptable to India. Freedom
for India under the aegis of Soviet
Russia is no freedom for us;
but it now must with England
to play fair by the people
of India or be declared by us
for ever as the enemy of India & its

189

6.

Asiatics. There are other groups in
North India pro Russia, but after Russia
joined the Allies she lost caste.
However the bitterness towards
the English is so great that Russia
will again come into favour in
the event of any disagreement
amongst the Allies.

Handbills is not touched with
the international reactions but
we can't afford to neglect the
signs of the time specially when
it concerns our freedom.

Yours

W. L. G.



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
July 22, 1992

Dear Jyoti Babu,

I have received your letter of July 16, 1992
enclosing a letter from Prof. Samar Guha.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P.V. Narasimha Rao

[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri Jyoti Basu
Chief Minister of West Bengal
Calcutta

1944/17CP
23/7

809/11/16/52

Q
23/7

m/p 10/23/7

24/7 10

8651/801/92
24/7

15
h287-JS/24/92
Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)
....

15/10/92
15/10/92

Reference conduct of probe into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. We have received the following communications in this connection:

(a) Shri Chitta Basu's letter of 11th February, 1992, to PM and PM's reply of April 4, 1992. (Flag A)

(b) A letter from Prof. Samar Guha, M.P. to FS. (Flag B)

3. Both these letters and the subsequent communication from the Prime Minister's Office (Flag C) were referred to the Ministry of Home Affairs for their comments, since that is the nodal Ministry concerned with enquiring into the disappearance of Netaji and since MHA would need to be consulted and their views obtained before re-opening the case and seeking information from the Russian Government Archives. (The Japanese Archives have been consulted by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee, 1956 and the 1974 Khosla Commission).

4. We have now received a reply from the MHA in this regard which says that they have examined the suggestions made in the letters referred to above. They have informed us that the Government has already accepted the fact that Netaji died in an air crash on 18th August, 1945, at Taihoku in Taiwan, and it is felt that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry.

5. FS may kindly see. It is for consideration whether these views should be conveyed in an appropriate manner to Prof. Samar Guha and Shri Chitta Basu. PMO would, I feel, need to be consulted before any further action is contemplated.

Nirupama Rao

(Nirupama Rao)
Joint Secretary(EA)
29.7.92

FS - on return


JS(S)-PMO may please see the note and the FR with reference to letters at Flag "A" and "C", in the file below.

10575/FS/ka
2/8

From pre-page

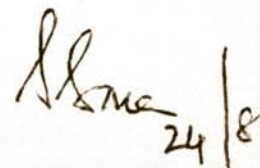
2. I personally do not see any useful purpose being served in re-opening the enquiry into the question of whether Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is dead or alive. If, however, some sort of an enquiry should be pursued by going to the Russian archives and so on for political reasons, we are willing to undertake this exercise.

3. Please obtain PM's views in the matter in the light of Home Ministry's response.


[J.N. Dixit]
Foreign Secretary
4.8.1992

~~JS(S)~~-PMO

PM has seen. He agrees that the enquiry into the question of whether Netaji is dead or alive or the circumstances of his disappearance, need not be reopened.


24/8

F.S. - MEA.

9875-B/LH
25/8

6338/5199
5/8

17
GORINDA MUKHOTY

Barrister-at-Law
Senior Advocate
Supreme Court of India
New Delhi

31.8.1992.

213, Jor Bagh,
New Delhi-110003
Tele phone : 4622027
690887

President,
Confederation of Indian Consumer Organisations (CICO)

Member, Advisory Board
SOS-Torture, Geneva.

&

Advisor,
People's Union for Democratic Rights.

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
South Block, New Delhi-110011.

Dear Shri Rao,

9/11/92
ms
You must be knowing that both the Inquiry Committee and the Commission i.e. Shahnawaj Committee and Khosla Commission have failed to unravel the mystery about Netaji's disappearance in 1945.

You must also be aware that Khosla Commission Report was rejected by the Government, when Shri Morarji Desai was the Prime Minister. As you are very well aware that Netaji's role in Independence Movement is second to none and if his disappearance still remains a mystery, it will deeply hurt the present and the future generations for years to come.

*Commission
10/22/92
4/9
I am sure that many people from different walks of life have requested you to set up a proper Inquiry* composed of a retired Supreme Court Judge or Judges.

Way back in 1973, I was arguing on behalf of the National Committee, composed of a number of Members of Parliament, before the Khosla Commission for about six months. The Commission Report obviously is very perfunctory.

I hope that after ^{due} deliberation, you will be able to to set up a proper Commission of Inquiry as soon as possible.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

(Gobinda Mukhoty)

CHITTA BASU

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



सत्यमेव जयते

Phone : 3782260

28, Gurdwara Rakabganj Road
New Delhi-110001

Dated 5.12.1992

Dear Prime Minister,

Sub: Demand for an Investigative Enquiry to unravel the 'mysterious disappearance of Netaji'.

This has reference to your letter of 4th April, 1992 regarding the above subject.

About ten months have already passed after submission of my memorandum to you but I have not received any further communication from your end till today. I also do not know what step the External Affairs Ministry has so far taken in this respect.

I shall be much obliged if you kindly let me know about the action you have taken so far in this respect.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Chitta Basu
(Chitta Basu)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

P.P. please

Ref. II

1226/88/6/12
9/12

Previous papers are flagged at snw 1-5/mta 4-2-4 & 16/c in the file (w. 8) 11/11/16/92 201 below pl.

dym
11/12/92

DS(5)

8/11/12
snw 19/c 46/mta

19
115
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL

नई दिल्ली-110011
NEW DELHI-110011

The attached letter to PM from Shri Chitta Basu, MP in follow up to Shri Basu's earlier letter requesting an enquiry into the circumstances to death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose may kindly be seen.

PM had responded to Shri Basu's letter on April 4, 1992. Copies of both letters are attached for ready reference.

We would be grateful if MOS would kindly be requested to send a simple acknowledgement to Shri Chitta Basu's present letter, in view of the decision that the enquiry into the question of the circumstances of Netaji's disappearance need not be reopened.

9c
Sun
(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary

PS to MOS (EF), MEA

PMO U.O.No. 870/11/P/16/92-Pol., dated 15.12.1992

me
.. issued on 15/12/92

D R A F T

116

Dear Shri Basu,

I have seen your letter of December 5, 1992 about Netaji which I am forwarding to the Minister of State for External Affairs.

Yours sincerely,

P.M.

Shri Chita Basu, MP



2

उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत
नई दिल्ली

VICE-PRESIDENT
INDIA
NEW DELHI

17

December 9, 1992

Dear Shri Narasimha Raju,

I am enclosing a letter I have received from Prof. Samar Guha, ex. Member of Parliament suggesting that an enquiry be held about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and what had happened to him. Prof. Samar Guha has also written to you directly and I have no doubt that you will be looking into this matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Narasimha Raju

(K.R. NARAYANAN)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister,
New Delhi.

Sm. 21/c

PM's Personal Section
Y NO 8574-vii
30th
1257/1993/92
10/12/92

14-Feb-93

PROF. SAMAR GUHA
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA 700032

November 21/1992

Shri K.R.Narayanan
Vice President of India, &
Chairman - Rajya Sabha
New Delhi

118

Honourable Chairman,

I am sending a booklet of mine and two articles recently published in Times of India of Delhi and News Times of Hyderabad on the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I shall be highly obliged if you kindly go through them.

I am sure you will feel it as our sacred national duty to finally know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the epic hero of Indian national freedom. Shri Chandra Sekhar, Shri L.K.Advani, Shri S.Nijilingappa, Shri Jyoti Basu and many other distinguished personalities have written to the Prime Minister for instituting an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. Earlier former President of India, Shri R.Venkatraman advised Shri Narasimha Raoji to take up the issue to finalize the hanging mystery about the ultimate destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Indian people will expect that you will take up this sensitively patriotic matter with the Prime Minister.

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

#####

COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

135 —Samar Guha



COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ? Did he really meet his end in an air crash at Taihoku in Formosa, on August 18, 1945 ? The news of his alleged accident was broadcast not in the form of any official communique either by the civil or the military authority of Japan. Japan was not yet occupied by the US Army, - its civil and military authority remained intact. It was the news of the Domei Agency which was broadcast by the Tokyo Radio. In its first broadcast, 5 days after the alleged air crash, it was said that the dead body of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, was flown to Tokyo. But subsequently in another broadcast it was reported that his body was cremated in Formosa.

Palpably, the broadcast appeared as nothing but a cooked-up story as it was not substantiated by any positive testimonials or documents. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India at that time, believed this news broadcast as true. Mahatma Gandhi along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wired Bose family at Calcutta, 'Not to perform sraddh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' Lord Wavell recorded his reaction in his 'Diary', 'I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash is true. I suspect it very much. It was just what should be given out if he wanted to go underground.' No Government, either of Japan or Wavell nor of the U.K. or the USA at that time or anytime thereafter officially confirmed the report of death of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Gandhiji believed - 'Subhas is Alive'

Gandhiji went on telling the Indian people that he didn't believe Netaji's death news. On 30 Dec 1945 he told us, the Bengal Detenues, most of whom were the colleagues and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Dum Dum Jail of Calcutta : 'If someone shows me ashes even then I will not believe that Subhas is not alive. He is alive, - hiding somewhere'. He spoke in Hindi and remained with us for over an hour. Next day, on January 2nd, 1946, he told the press at Contai of Bengal : 'I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere.' Gandhiji repeated his belief many times afterwards. After meeting Col. Habibur Rahman in the Red Fort Cell, who claimed to be the lone Indian who travelled with Netaji in the same plane that allegedly crashed, Gandhiji said 'Habib ! whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe Netaji is alive.' Later Gandhi told pressmen : 'Habibur Rahman made a soldier's statement to me.'

Why Gandhiji was so insistent to disbelieve the Japanese report of Netaji's air crash death ? Was it because of his 'inner voice' ? Many revealing facts came to be known 10 years later which positively indicated why Gandhiji said so. In 1991 an American document found in the archives of the Princeton University positively revealed why Gandhiji believed that 'Subhas is hiding somewhere'.

Reaction of the British Government

What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46 ? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Signapore, Subhas Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose - dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. But the British Govt. of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported aircrash. However, what was the exact view of the Wavell Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose, was secretly despatched to the Attlee Govt. in UK after 67 days of the reported aircrash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F.Mudie. It was marked 'Top Secret' and this report was published 30 years after in 'Volume VI' of the British document 'Transfer of Power, 1942-47'. In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance ;
- b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country ;
- c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India ;
- d) Intern him in India ;
- e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;
- f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.'

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded 'in many ways the easiest course will be to live him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.'

Neither the Wavell Govt. of India nor the Attlee Govt. of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhas Bose's presence in Russia.

Pandit Nehru's Preverification

Everybody in India in 1945-46 disbelieved the Toyko story of Netaji's death. Moulana Azad, the then President of the Congress declined to make any obituary reference in memory of Bose in the first AICC Session held at Bombay on Sept. 23, 1945 after the Quit India Movement, saying, 'The circumstances in which the news of the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for announcement don't make certain that Bose is in fact dead.'

An American journalist of Chicago Tribune, Alfred Wag, told Pandit Nehru on August

122
29, 1945 in Delhi that after the Japanese broadcast 'Bose was alive and seen 4 days ago in Saigon'. On Sept 11, 1945 Nehru himself told API at Jhansi, **'Like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose... I have received a number of reports, which have raised me in great doubt and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news'**.

Every patriotic Indian expected that after coming into power on August 15, 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, would consider it as his first national duty to institute a high level investigation to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But he was found contrarily to adopt an unthinkable attitude of deliberate refusal to entertain any request for any inquiry about Netaji. Why after his own public statement that he disbelieved the news of Subhas Chandra Bose's death Pandit Nehru made a strange volte-face to adopt a completely reversed attitude ?

The answer to it can be found in the article of a former Editor of the Gujarati daily 'Janmabhumi' late Amritlal Seth, who accompanied Pandit Nehru, when he visited Singapore in 1946 as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten. Further evidence came from the text of the 'Nehru Oration' by Mountbatten. Shri Seth informed Sarat Chandra Bose immediately after coming back to India from Singapore, that **Mountbatten warned Nehru that, 'If he played up Bose and his INA he will be taking the risk of presenting India on a platter to Bose when he returned back to India'**. Yes, Panditji started to instantly comply with the advice of Mountbatten from Singapore itself. He shockingly cancelled his already agreed programme to place a wreath at the spot of the INA Memorial that was demolished by the British Army soon after reoccupation of Singapore. Returning home from Singapore Pandit Nehru was found to shut his mouth completely about anything that concerned Netaji and his INA.

Inquiry by Shah Nawaz Committee

After coming to power as the Prime Minister of Free India, Pandit Nehru, adopted a policy of abject indifference and negligence, nay a covert opposition to everything about Netaji and his heroic legends. Pandit Nehru's worst stance was his stubborn opposition to all requests and appeals made in the Parliament and outside for instituting a judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. For 10 years he turned down all such appeals. But when the citizens of Calcutta decided to set up a non-official inquiry committee in 1956 with Dr. Radha Binode Pal, an internationally reputed jurist of the eminence of Tokyo Trial as its Chairman, Pandit Nehru suddenly announced to form an inquiry committee with Shah Nawaz Khan as its Chairman having no judicial status for the inquiry. But strangely, when even such a 'statement-collecting-committee' was conducting inquiry, Panditji forestalled the very objective of its inquiry by making a statement in the Parliament in which he said : **'I have no doubt today of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death, is, I think settled beyond doubt'**.

How could Shah Nawaz Committee dare to unsettle this 'Settled fact beyond doubt' of Pandit Nehru ? This inquiry, this, queerly concluded in its findings : 'At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipt issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So, although there cannot be absolute certainty about it, nevertheless, ashes kept in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot be obviously the final resting place.' What an absurd findings! Can the issue of death of a man like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose be confirmed by not being 'absolutely certain', but by questioning it with 'if' ?

122
Shah Nawaz Committee, however, helped to have access to some very vital documents that were kept secret for 10 years after 1947. These documents showed that according to the intelligence report, in all probability, Netaji took shelter in Soviet Russia under the cover of a cooked-up story of his death. These documents also indicated that Gandhiji and Panditji received a letter from Netaji asking Nehru for making arrangement for his repatriation to India. Particular imports of these documents will be discussed later. But it should be mentioned here that Pandit Nehru suppressed all the vital intelligence reports from the public till 1956.

In 1951 Panditji had sent S.A. Ayer, a former Publicity Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Govt., to Tokyo to secretly contact Col. Tada to ascertain from him the report about Netaji's death. Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada, were attached to the Japanese wartime Military Headquarters at Saigon. They were the two high ranking Japanese officers who were deputed to prepare and execute the escape-plan of Netaji by Field Marshall Terauchi, highest in command of the S.E. Asia Jap Army. In his confidential report to Nehru, Ayer stated : 'This time I could gather very important information. Col. Tada told me that after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory — all help will be given to him.'

In his statement in Lok Sabha, Panditji mentioned other parts of Ayer's confidential report to him which appeared to lend support to Tokyo broadcast, but this vital part was withheld from the House.

Pandit Nehru's conscience, however, appeared to prick during the last few month before he passed away. Although he repeatedly stated in the Parliament that 'Netaji's death was a settled fact beyond doubt' he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji on May 13, 1962 in reply to his letter that 'You asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I can't send you any precise and direct proof....' Again just about a month before his death replying to a letter from Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, Panditji wrote : 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death.' Ah ! When it was the time for proper investigation, Nehruji deliberately stalled it !

Confusing Japanese Documents

Japan is the only country which could definitely say or unsay if the report of the plane crash was true. Some documents and information placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee by the Japanese authority revealed a few vital facts :

Firstly, Japan didn't officially make any statement either by its civil or military authority to confirm the report of plane crash on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Domai News Agency, a private body, made it over the Tokyo Radio. Later S.A. Ayer, in course of his deposition before Shah Nawaz Committee, told that on request from the Japanese authority at Tokyo, the text of the broadcast was prepared by him and not either by the Japanese Govt. or the Domai News Agency.

Secondly, the plane which reportedly crashed carried 13/14 passengers of which the Pilot, Co-pilot, Radio Engineer, Genl. Shedei, Netaji, — these five persons, who were required to fly to Dairen, reportedly died whereas all the other passengers miraculously survived with minor injuries, although the plane was reported to have had nose-dived, caught instant fire and broke into two parts. Non-Official, Japanese Expert Committee contradicted such a report as 'absurd'. After vertical nose-dive crash of

124

a burning plane from a sufficient altitude such selective survivals and selective killings were unthinkable according to their findings.

Thirdly, Japanese authority produced three - four photographs - first one of bandaged Habibur Rahman sitting by the side of a casket, second one of an urn reportedly carrying the ashes of Bose and the third one of a canvas-covered bundle marked as containing the alleged death body of Bose. If the Japanese could take trouble of getting four photographs why another photograph of uncovered body of Bose could not be taken if such a body existed at all? **An uncovered body of Bose would have convinced each and everybody of India and of the Anglo-American Power that Bose really died in the air crash. One such single photograph could have settled all doubts and all controversies about the report of Bose's death.** Japanese authority failed to answer convincingly why they could not take a photograph of uncovered body of Bose if he really died.

Fourthly, Japanese Foreign Ministry submitted a cremation certificate of Bose issued by the Taihoku Municipality. It was written in Japanese script. On rendering this certificate into English it was strangely found that it was issued for a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who died of heart failure. Okura's age, the cause and date of his death and cremation, - nothing tallied with the report of the Tokyo broadcast about 'Chandra Bose.'

Fifthly, although it was stated that Genl. Shedei also died at Taihoku on the same date as a result of the air crash, but his pension certificate showed that he died in the warfield. Genl. Shedei was appointed to command Japanese Kwantang Army in Manchuria after Russia attacked this Jap territory. Japanese could not produce any record of death and cremation certificate of Genl. Shedei supporting his death at Taihoku.

These few Japanese documents left rather indicative clues to infer that the report of air crash was just a cooked-up story to cover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia.

Futile Khosla Commission

Though the Indian people didn't accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Panditji himself also agreed that 'something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death' - nothing was done by the Govt. till 1967. In this year about 350 members of Parliament belonging to all parties signed a memorandum and submitted it to the Central Govt. urging for a fresh judicial inquiry about Netaji. In no time before, such a memorandum was ever signed by the majority members of the Parliament for submitting to the Govt. for a national cause. However, it took over two years' persistent agitation to make the Govt. of India agree to set up on July 11, 1970 a 'one-man judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' A retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court was appointed its Chairman. After 4 years of unnecessarily prolonged sittings of the Commission, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Govt. on June 30, 1974. Khosla Commission's Report appeared just as a chimera of a judicial findings, - worse than the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee. Mr. Khosla made no effort to search for national and international documents connected with the Netaji affairs, made no analysis of the Japanese documents produced before the Commission, brushed aside the evidence of the 84 Indian witnesses giving cursory attention to them while devoting his attention mainly on the evidence of five Japanese witnesses claiming as co-passengers of Netaji and the fifth one of a doctor, who said to have treated

125
injured Bose. Though none of them could produce any document to verify their identities, statements and claims. Mr. Khosla treated them as 'truthful witnesses' to draw his conclusion exclusively on their evidence that Bose died after the reported aircrash.

Worst still, Mr. Khosla exceeded all his limits in making political commentary in unbelievably derogatory terms by calling Netaji a 'Puppet', a 'Pawn', a 'Quisling' of Japan, etc. in his report. In his report atleast in 27 places he made outrageous remarks denigrating the revolutionary personality of Netaji. This man, violating all judicial norms, was seen to bring a 'present' for Mrs. Indira Gandhi while returning from Taiwan and write her biography while working as the Chairman of the Commission. Further, before his report was placed on the table of Lok Sabha he published a book calling it 'Last Days of Netaji'. Mr. Khosla was severely indicted by the Calcutta High Court for his derogatory remarks about Netaji. He also faced a Privilege Motion in Lok Sabha for violating the terms of the Inquiry Commission. But he somehow escaped harsh punishments by offering unconditional apology to the High Court and the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Thus, because of his tendentious behaviour of the Chairman of the Netaji Inquiry Commission, the judicial and moral basis of his findings were vitiated in such a way that its whole objective was completely frustrated.

Findings Rejected by the Morarji Govt.

Because of the sudden imposition of Emergency in June 1975 and arrest of Opposition leaders, including the present writer, the report of Khosla Commission was debated in Lok Sabha as late as in 1978 after the formation of the Janata Govt. A documentary book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?' written by the writer was released by the then President of India Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The long debate and the documentary materials published in the book convinced a man of very rigid outlook like Shri Morarji Desai, that the two inquiries about Netaji failed to serve the purpose of the investigation. In reply to the debate, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai said in a statement in Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978 :

'Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and verious important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive.'

It was very vital statement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970. And now in 1978 Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the inquiries to reopen the issue of disappearance of Netaji. It now, consequently, devolved on the Morarji Govt. to find out, - then, what really happened to Netaji ? Morarjibhai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' in an effort to resolve the Netaji issue as he felt that after so many years any further judicial inquiry would not serve the main purpose. But before his suggestion could be materialized the Janata Govt. fell.

Decision of Investigative Inquiry by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

The whole issue of renewal of Netaji inquiry remained muted for about 10 years. After formation of the Janata Dal Govt. the issue was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh, who asked his Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K.Gujral to 'look into the matter'. But before any step could be taken, V.P.Singh Govt. had to quit. The matter was again taken up with the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. In both these moves the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman very patriotically extended his moral support to the cause behind the inquiry.

In fact, he took initiative to ask both Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to fulfil the national duty to find out what really happened to Netaji. In a letter on May 29, 1992, The President assured that he will again pursue the matter of Investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. His letter :

**PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

New Delhi,
May 29, 1992.

Dear Shri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R.VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta - 700032.

Finally, On March 26, 1991 the Deputy Minister of External Affairs informed the writer in a letter : 'The Ministry has initiated a High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development.' His letter :

**DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA**

No.489/DM/91

March 26, 1991.

Dear Prof. Samarjee,

1. Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.
3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032.

122
But because of resignation of Chandra Sekhar Govt. this laudable decision about the Investigative Inquiry remained hanging in uncertainty.

A National Task for Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao

It appears that the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has not been posted with all facts about the rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and the subsequent decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the issue of disappearance of Netaji. Otherwise the Govt. would not have used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna for Netaji. Now, it is a legal, moral and sacred patriotic task for Narasimha Rao Govt. to effectively work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a 'High level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' and to 'finalize', to quote Pandit Nehru, the poignant issue that remained hanging about the fate of the epic hero of the Indian liberation.

An Investigative Inquiry, - Why ?

Why an Investigative Inquiry instead of another public inquiry about Netaji ? Only four Japanese, - the Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army of the Tokyo Headquarters, Field Marshall Terauchi of S.E.Asia Japanese Command at Saigon, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari-Kikan and Col. Tada, a trusted officer of Terauchi's Headquarter, were the four key figures, who programmed and executed the escape-plan of Netaji to convey him to Russian territory of Siberia across the Manchurian border. All these principal persons are now dead. Political situation in Japan has now changed so much, that few people of its administration after 47 years can be expected to recollect the episode of the political move around the movement of Subhas Chandra Bose after fall of Japan.

Now mainly the Secret documents, reports, informations and findings of various inquiries that are likely to be available in the archives of Japan, UK, USA, Taiwan and most importantly of former the USSR, now the Russian Federation, can provide positive facts about what really happened to Netaji.

Soon after the report of the air crash involving Netaji, the Wavell Govt. of India, Adml. Mountbatten of S.E.Asia Allied Command and Genl. Mac Arthur of the U.S.Pacific Army - instituted three 'immediate inquiry' separately to verify the truth about the alleged air crash death of Subhas Chandra Bose. After reoccupation of Formosa (now Taiwan), on orders from Genl. Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify whether any air accident took place at Taipei (Taihoku) airport on August 18, 1945. And if so, whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the reports of these inquiries or their findings have been published. Only Wavell Govt. non-officially leaked-out to the press that its inquiry found that the report of air crash death of Subhas Chandra Bose was correct. However, this was only for the consumption of the Indian public. Neither the Govt. of Wavell nor Mountbatten nor the Govt. of U.K. at any time officially confirmed Netaji's death. What the Wavell Govt. came to know after its investigation was secretly communicated to the U.K. Govt. in the form of 'Top Secret' despatch by R.F.Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy which has already been quoted earlier. This report informed Attlee Govt. that under the cover of the story of his death Bose took asylum in Russia.

Mountbatten's Inquiry Report

Mountbatten's inquiry report was never published, nor its findings were made known. A few pages of Mountbatten's Diary were given to the Shah Nawaz Committee in which it was

found that the British Investigation Officer observed : '..... it appears that the whole thing is suspicious.... The description of the funeral is more suspicious.... Perhaps the aircrash was cooked-up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere.'

128

In 1978 the then Indian High Commissioner in U.K., Shri N.G.Goray, wrote to Lord Mountbatten : 'I would like to refer particularly to pages 137, 138 and 139 of Volume VI (of the Transfer of Power, 1942-47)' : that the Govt. of India knew that Shri Bose was alive and they were discussing how he should be dealt with. As you took over from Lord Wavell it will not be wrong to presume that you must have come to know every detail about the incident.'

Mountbatten very much knew the outcome of the inquiry which he himself ordered as the S.E.Asia Allied Command. And further as being a Viceroy of India, succeeding Lord Wavell, he had many reports about Netaji in possession of his Govt. He was keenly interested about Bose as he warned Pandit Nehru at Singapore in early 1946 'not to play-up Bose and his INA', as he believed that Bose was alive. **But Lord Mountbatten preferred to evasively reply to Goray on March 10, 1978 : '... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives.'** Look ! how truthfully behaved the 'Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, KG, PC, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, DSO, FRS, Braodlands, Romsey, Hampshire 905 9 D. !'

However, evasive though he tried to be in his reply to Shri Goray - one thing he did truthfully that he didn't confirm Bose's death.

The British Global Military Intelligence of the War days, briefly called CSDIC, deputed B.C.Chakraborty, an Indian senior officer, to interrogate Col. Habibur Rahman. Chakraborty told Khosla Commission : 'After analysing all the reports that were in hands at the time with the CSDIC, it was obvious that Col. Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese Govt. concealed facts. Their reply was nothing other than a product of conspiracy regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 : None of them (the British Military Intelligence or the U.S.) believed that the information about Netaji's death could be correct'.

It is interesting to note that according to the evidence of Mir Chandani and B.C.Mallik, two former Chiefs of the Indian Intelligence, they told Khosla Commission that the Govt. of U.K. and the Govt. of India that pursued all the reports about Bose are still in possession of Govt. of U.K. besides the reports of Mountbatten's inquiry which, according to their policy decision, will be published after 100 years of 'The Transfer of Power'.

Probe by Genl. Mac Arthur

The investigation report of Genl. Mac Arthur's team was very vital because the U.S. team reached Tokyo and Formose (Taiwan) much earlier than the British team. This U.S. team examined all the concerned Japanese officer at Tokyo and Taihoku and repeatedly interrogated Col. Habibur Rahman. But nothing has been published so far about Mac Arthur's inquiry.

However, some facts were indirectly known about this report. At the time of Tokyo Trial after the War, Genl. Tojo, Genl. Fuzyama and other highest war-time Jap leaders, who were facing trial, were found to stand up and bow down their heads very reverentially when Chandra Bose's name was mentioned during the session of the Tokyo Trial. The U.S. jurists of the Trial being curiously intrigued by the performance of the civil and military Jap leaders of the war-days asked their Indian colleague, Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, why the Japanese behaved in that way when the name of Subhas Chandra Bose was mentioned ? They were told that was the Japanese tradition of showing respect to the man whom they held in highest esteem. The U.S. jurist told Dr. Pal that 'what they know about U.S. inquiry, Subhas Chandra Bose didn't die in the alleged aircrash, - he escaped'. This information was given to the press by

129
Dr. Pal after returning to India. Uptill now the U.S. Govt. have not mentioned anything about the report and the findings of the Mac Arthur's inquiry.

Investigation by Taipei Mayor

The Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) of Taiwan (Formosa) soon after Chinese reoccupation of Formosa about a month after fall of Japan made an inquiry to verify the report of Bose's death in an aircrash at the Taipei airfield. The President of the Nationalist China, Genl. Chiang- Kai- Shek had very friendly relation with Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days. According to the report of H.V.Kamath, Prokash Vir Shastri and Mulka Govind Reddy — all former members of Parliament, who visited Taiwan on invitation by an unofficial organisation there, - the Mayor of Taipei told them that their inquiry could not verify the report of any aircrash at Taipei on August 18, 1945 involving Subhas Chandra Bose.

Taihoku airfield was the place of occurrence of the reported aircrash. But Pandit Nehru didn't allow Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taipei (Taihoku). However, Khosla Commission was allowed to visit this city, but Mr. Khosla refused to write to the Govt. of Taiwan to give him a copy of the Taipei Mayor's inquiry report on diplomatic plea, although the Taiwan Govt. was willing to respond to Indian request. The matter later was raised in Lok Sabha, when the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, denied if any such instruction was sent to Khosla. This report of the Mayor of Taipei is still available in the archives of the Taiwan Govt.

Habibur Rahman's Story

Col. Habibur Rahman stuck to his story of Netaji's death although he could convince neither the British, nor the American investigating team, nor any of his INA colleagues. **After interrogation of Habibur Rahman by the British team it observed: 'Habibur Rahman is unwilling to come out with truth'.** Everybody took his version as that of a soldier's statement in defence of the escape-plan of his master.

Habibur Rahman showed a rectangular watch with a burnt band saying that Netaji had it in his wrist when he was engulfed in the burning flame after the aircrash. But it was known to every INA personnel that Netaji always used a round shaped wrist watch and not any rectangular one. When Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief of the INA Defence Council asked Habibur Rahman to open the Watch, it was found that the oil inside the watch remained intact without forming any clot, although Habibur Rahman claimed that it was almost consumed in flame at the time of aircrash. Shri Desai indicatively smiled and returned the watch to Rahman without any comment.

While describing all about the aircrash, Habibur Rahman used to say that when the plane crashed he was wearing an wollen jumper, whereas Netaji had a Khaki suit on his body. When he was asked how was it that not a single thread of his wollen jumper was burnt but Netaji's less inflammable Khaki suit was 'horribly' caught in fire ? Habibur fumbled to answer this searching question.

Again, he said that he made frantic effort with both his hands to put out the flame all around Netaji's body after the aircrash. But when he was asked how could it happen that the palms of his two hands bore no burnt marks whereas the dorsal of his two hands showed some hazy marks, which in all probability could be of acid-burn? He looked vacant and attempted no explanation.

In 1947 before he moved to Pakistan, Habibur Rahman lived with his father-in-law who was the 'Prime Minister' of the Princely State of Alwar. He confessed to Mr. Khemchand the ICS Secretary to the Alwar Prime Minister that Netaji's death-story was nothing but cooked-up.

130
In 1956 Habibur Rahman came to Delhi from Pakistan to appear before the Shah Nawaz Committee. However, a few days before his departure for Delhi the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore published a news that Habibur Rahman told this paper that Netaji didn't die in the aircrash. This report was published in 'East Pakistan' dailies also. But he declined to contradict it. Habibur Rahman refused to appear before Khosla Commission to avoid cross examination by the judicial commission. Before non-judicial Shah Nawaz Committee he submitted just a written statement.

In 1966 when a Japanese biographer of Netaji, Mr. Hayashida, met Habibur in Rawalpindi, he repeated nothing than the same story of Netaji's death but added : '**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the greatest revolutionary that the Indian Subcontinent produced in the present century.....Many in Bharat still believe that he is still alive and will turn up someday. How we wish he had come back alive ! The flame of freedom lit by him is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the world for all times to come.**' Oh ! how Habibur Rahman failed to hold back the truthful impulse of his inner conscience in some sensitive moment !

Internal Documents, 'Missing or Destroyed'

Nehru Govt. got in its possession all the secret reports of the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten after the 'Transfer of Power'. Panditji was also known to maintain a special file about Netaji. But Nehru Govt. placed only a few documents before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Indira Govt. also supplied almost the same package of files again for the scrutiny of the Khosla Commission. These documents included a few pages of Mountbatten's Diary, some parts of Figgis Report and a small part of the report of CSDIC. Some irrelevant papers were also sent to the Commission. However, inside the package of these official documents a very intriguing official note was found enlisting some 40 secret files about Netaji marked as 'Either Missing' or 'Papers Destroyed' ? Pandit Nehru's personal and other official files regarding the issue of Netaji were kept by Md. Yunus. 'Papers destroyed' were about 15. 'Notes destroyed' were about 12. 'Prime Minister's Secretariate File 'missing or destroyed' included - (i) Investigation into circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose, (ii) 'Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East', and (iii) 'INA Treasure'. These files were either deliberately destroyed or intentionally withheld. Mr. Khosla dared not to ask the Govt. why these valuable secret files were either 'destroyed or missing' and what were the contents of these files?

Netaji's Destination was Russia

It has been established from all documents and evidences that Netaji's destination after fall of Japan was Russia. Four days before the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 a special messenger from the Imperial headquarter of Tokyo, Mr. Negishi, rushed to Seramban in Malay to handover a confidential message from the highest Japanese authority. It showed in what respect the Japanese held Netaji. This confidential message urged Netaji to Immediately move to Saigon to fly out of the S.E.Asia zone without any delay. However, instead of accompanying Mr. Negishi, Netaji rushed to Singapore, the Hd. Qrt. of Azad Hind Govt. and held an emergent meeting of his Cabinet to decide the future course of the Azad Hind Govt. and the INA in the event of Japanese surrender. Netaji proposed to surrender to the British Army at Singapore. But his Cabinet unanimously decided that Netaji should make every effort to cross into Soviet Russia, whereas the Cabinet Ministers and the INA would surrender to the British Army at Singapore. After arguing with his Cabinet Ministers, Netaji finally agreed to bow-down to honour the wishes of his Cabinet. On 14th August Netaji attended a cultural function of the Jhansi Regiment without disclosing what was going to happen next day.

(31)
As Netaji was delaying to reach Saigon, on August 12, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan and Mr. Hachia, Jap Ambassador to the Azad Hind Govt. rushed to Singapore. On 13th August another messenger from Tokyo, Col. Sakai, reached Singapore to persuade Netaji to leave the area without any further delay. Netaji had several secret meetings with Col. Sakai and in one such meeting Col. Habibur Rahman was called in and directed by Netaji to hand over the charge of his office to Mj. Genl. M.Z.Kiani, who was given overall authority by Netaji to surrender to the British Army, separately from the Japanese, on behalf of the Azad Hind Govt. and its INA.

Netaji reached Bangkok on Aug 16, along with Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi, Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rahman, S.A.Ayer, Debnath Das, Pritam Singh, Mj. Hasan, Col. Gulgara Singh and others. At Bangkok, Netaji had several secret conclaves with Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada who were specially deputed by Field Marshall Terauchi to finalise Netaji's escape-plan. Again at Bangkok also Col. Habibur Rahman was exclusively called in by Netaji in one of such meetings. None else of the INA was asked to attend the secret conclaves. Next day on 17th August a plane took off at about 5 p.m. from Saigon carrying Netaji, Habibur Rahman, Genl. Shedei and few other Japanese Officers. The plane had an overnight hop at Tourane in North Vietnam.

What was the destination of Netaji ? Except Col. Habibur Rahman who made every effort to conceal all facts about the fateful movement of Netaji, on August 18, 1945, all other important Japanese witnesses like Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi and Col. Tada and all the Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. and the important INA Officers categorically told the Khosla Commission that Netaji's plan was to go to Russia via Dairen.

Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada of FM Terauchi's HQ of Saigon were entrusted by the supreme Japanese command to prepare and execute Netaji's escape plan to convey him safely to Russian Siberia. Genl. Isoda unreservedly told Khosla Commission: 'The purpose of Netaji's plan was to go to Soviet Union.... He was going to Russia via Saigon.... There was no plan to stay at Saigon. 'Genl. Isoda's Statement was much earlier corroborated by Col. Tada in a secret communication to S.A.Ayer when Pandit Nehru unannouncedly sent him to meet Col. Tada in 1951. In his 'confidential note' to Nehru, Ayer wrote: 'Col. Tada told me that it was arranged that Subhas Chandra Bose will fly in a plane in which Genl. Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Subhas Chandra Bose upto Dairen (in Manchuria) and thereafter he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allied power....'. After arrival of Col. Sakai from Tokyo it was found that Terauchi's plan coincided with the plan of the Tokyo Imperial Headquarters. Col. Tada further disclosed to Ayer that '.... The Japanese HQ had planned to make a false announcement of Netaji's disappearance.'

Col. Tada's disclosure showed that both the Imperial HQ and the HQ of Terauchi at Saigon planned to fly Netaji to Dairen with Genl. Shedei from where Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji up to Siberia across the Manchurian border. To execute this plan five days were required and that was why although the plane was reported as have had crashed on August 18, the so-called death news of Netaji was broadcast on August 23.

Khosla Commission was told by all the Cabinet Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. that Netaji maintained a special liaison with Jakob Malik, the war-time Russian Ambassador at Tokyo.

132
That Netaji reached Moscow has also been verified by several reports of the British intelligence sent to the Wavell Govt. in late 1945 and in early 1946. These informations, which the Govt. of Nehru didn't disclose in 1946 came before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 alongwith the Govt. papers submitted before it. One of these reports says '.... There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. This information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probably that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement.'

In another intelligence report it was stated that 'Bose' was in Russia. Assuming the name of Ghilzai Malang (It is known that Netaji was a past-master in assuming false names). In the third intelligent report it was said '..... In Dec 1945 a report said that Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed that Bose was in Moscow. In a report received from Tehran stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia.....'.

The British intelligence pursued this reports for further probe and submitted them to the Govt. of Wavell. These reports were said to be, as communicated to Khosla Commission, 'either missing or destroyed'.

Shri Shyamlal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Secretary of the INA Defence Council, told Khosla Commission that he was asked by Pandit Nehru on Dec 26/27, 1945 in the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which read: '.... Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedei, proceeded towards Russian territory, the Jeep returned after about 3 hours' Pandit Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, asking him how Russia, their War- time ally, could provide shelter to Bose. This letter to Mr. Attlee was also typed by Shyamlal Jain. It appears unthinkable that Panditji could write such a letter to Attlee. But neither the Govt. nor Mr. Khosla challenged the statement of Shyamlal Jain.

Most positive and authentic information came from the source of the British Govt. in their documents 'Transfer of Power - 1942- 47' published in 1975. It has already been mentioned earlier that the British Govt. had the information that Netaji reached Russia and but preferred to remain silent about this report.

Many other indirect hints came about Netaji's presence in Russia. On reaching India after serving in Moscow as India's first Ambassador, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, made a startling statement at Bombay on her coming back to India. But after reaching Delhi she shut her mouth completely. Khosla Commission asked her, sending a formal letter, if she knew that Netaji was in Russia. She declined to appear before the Commission sending a strange reply: 'I have not met Subhas Chandra Bose after 1940'. Mr. Khosla didn't dare to summon her for cross examination.

The second Ambassador to Moscow Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his very close Calcutta friend Dr. Saroj Ray, an eminent philosopher of Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Subhas Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia.' This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian Dr. R.C.Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

Netaji in Russia - Two Revealing Reports

However, besides this indirect information, a revealing report came from a Bharat Heavy Engineering Corpn. Engineer, Shri A.Sarkar, now residing at Calcutta, who was sent to Russia three times by the Corporation for training in manufacture of heavy machineries. Sarkar learnt

139
Russian quite well. He came in contact with a German-Jew, B.A. Zerobin, who was Deputy Chief of a Machine Building Plant (Machinostroitel'nyy zavod) at Gorlovka near the city of Doonesk. Mr. Zerobin told Sarkar that while he was in a Siberian Re-orientation Camp after being captured in Berlin, he surprisingly met Bose in the Camp. It was in 1961. Zerobin claimed that he saw Bose earlier in Berlin during the days of War. According to Zerobin, one day Bose was brought to the Re-orientation Camp in a car accompanied by two Mongolian guards, one acting as his interpreter. Zerobin rushed to Bose exclaiming: 'Sir, I met you in Berlin?' Bose replied, 'Quite likely'. Bose asked Zerobin, 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin: 'I don't know what for'. Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose replied: 'Expected to be soon'. Bose and Zerobin were talking in German. The Mongolian interpreter intervened and said, 'Not allowed'. Zerobin said that he saw Bose in the Re-orientation Camp only on two occasions.

Zerobin warned Sarkar that if he divulged anything about Bose in Russia it would cost lives of both, - of Zerobin and Sarkar too. Notwithstanding Zerobin's warning Sarkar tried to contact Indian Embassy at Moscow. But he was sternly warned by one of the Secretaries to shut his mouth about the matter. Frightened Sarkar remained muted for years.

After Glasnost and Perestroika when liberal winds began to blow in Russia, a former Chairman of the Lok Sabha Privilege Committee (present writer) wrote a long letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, giving all available facts about the reports of Netaji's going to Russia after the fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Shri Gyani Jail Singh with their own comments. Shri S. Nijalingappa, the former oldest President of the Congress, also sent another letter to the Russian leader. But all these letters remained unacknowledged and unreplied.

Latest positive confirmation about Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 came from a document found in the archives of the Princeton University of USA in 1990. It is the copy of the letter written on 22nd July 1946 by Khurshed Behn to the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer, who came in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. Giving briefly the idea about the political situation in India in 1946 Khurshed Behn wrote to Fischer: 'At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also (if) Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India.' This letter was written to Louis Fischer as he had access to the USA President.

It was a hand written letter as it was very confidential. Khurshed Behn was a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and lived with him in his Wardha Ashram. It was obvious that Khurshed Behn really wrote the letter to Louis Fischer being dictated by Gandhiji.

Khurshed Behn never moved an inch without the hint from the Mahatma. This letter provided a definite affirmation why Gandhiji made repeated statements in 1946 telling the Indian people that he believed 'Netaji is alive and hiding some where.'

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru knew all these facts about Netaji's taking shelter in Russia. But he did nothing to contact Stalin or his successor Russian leaders to enquire about Netaji and arrange for his repatriation to his motherland. Rather after getting into power in Delhi Pandit Nehru was seen to adopt an attitude of stoic silence regarding anything about Netaji. Regrettably, no other Indian Govt. after Nehru also made any efforts to contact the Govt. of USSR to ascertain all facts published about Netaji's taking shelter in that country.

Now an Unfulfilled National Duty for Shri Narasimha Rao

Mr. Clement Attlee who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons came to visit India as a private citizen in mid-fifty. He was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan by the then acting Governor of West Bengal, Justice Phani Bhusan Chakraborty : 'Mr. Attlee, why did you quit India so precipitously after winning the Great War ?'. Prompt was the reply from the former Prime Minister of Britain : 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.' Yes, our Sub-continent which is now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh got independence in 1947 because of the irresistible thrust of the revolutionary legends of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA. After the last Great War when the Saga of the Azad Hind Revolution raised a volcanic upsurge of militant patriotism that shook the very foundation of British Raj in India every Indian leader, except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahammad Ali Jinnah, was seen to vie with one another in showing their eloquent homages on Netaji. But after India attained freedom nothing was done to acknowledge our national gratitude to the greatest national hero of our independence. Nay, no effective move was made to find out what really happened to him.

After 10 years of persistent agitations Pandit Nehru formed Shah Nawaz Committee 'to enquire into 'death of Netaji'. The Committee produced a report which the Indian people refused to accept. Again in 1967 more than 350 Members of Parliament launched a fresh agitation for instituting a judicial inquiry into Netaji's disappearance. After more than 2 year's continuous agitation the Govt. of Indira Gandhi instituted 'A one-man Judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But the whole inquiry was vitiated by the tendentious motivation of its Chairman, Justice Khosla for which he had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. On Sept 3, 1978 Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. As the issue of the inquiry about Netaji was reopened by the Govt., Shri Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' to finalise the matter of the Netaji-inquiry. But no move could be made as his Govt. fell in 1979.

Again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji was taken up by the successive Govts. of Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was because of the patriotic and moral intervention of the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman, Chandra Sekhar Govt. announced on March 1991; 'starting of a High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose into the documents available with Govts. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan and others'. But this move also got bogged because of resignation of the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

All hopes now rests with the willingness and the initiative of the veteran Freedom Fighter, Shri Narasimha Rao. Will India's present Prime Minister fulfil the objective of the Investigative Inquiry about Netaji as has already been decided by his predecessor Govt. ? If he feels it as our patriotic task to fulfil our unfulfilled national duty to Netaji, then his Govt will have to make a sincere and serious move to execute this investigation in a proper manner.

Firstly, the Prime Minister of India would have to write to all the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the reports of the inquiries already made by them long before about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of India.

Secondly, the Govt. should write to the Japanese Govt. to provide all documents connected with the reports of the air crash at Taihoku (Taipei) allegedly involving Netaji.

13
Thirdly, which is most vital, the Prime Minister of India should approach the new Russian Govt. and its sister's States to let India know what KGB know about Netaji's taking shelter in the former USSR. Now a new wind of freedom and liberalism is blowing in Russia and if our Govt. in such radically changed milieu take up the issue in all earnestness with the present Russian Govt. there is no reason why the present Govt. of Russia will not come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that were and are still locked in the KGB files Stalin's achieves and other quarters.

In 1946 the Govt. of Communist China also featured in various news relating to Netaji. The Govt. of India should also approach the Communist regime of China to find out if they have any facts with them about Subhas Chandra Bose.

Lastly, the Govt. of India should make a thorough search to find out from their own official files and archives what were those 'top secret files' which were reported as 'either missing or destroyed'. What were the contents of these files should be carefully inquired into and all efforts should be made to trace Pandit Nehru's special files about Netaji and the other files left behind by the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten at the time of Transfer of Power.

The INA treasure that have been kept in the Delhi National Museum, — all about its sources, who brought them, how they were collected, — all facts should be inquired into.

Efforts should also be made to contact the family of Col. Habibur Rahman, who died two years back, to ascertain if he left any document, diary or any note about Netaji.

About 50 years after the last Great War there is no reason to believe that the Allied Powers' past political prejudices against Subhas Chandra Bose will stand any more in the way of their cooperation with the proposed Investigative Inquiry. For Russia, it is the most opportune moment when a friendly move by the Govt. of India is likely to succeed to convince the Russian Govt. to give out all facts, reports, documents and information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in Russia that are in possession or were in possession of the former KGB and other Russian secret sources.

The Govt. of India should set up a high level expert committee, to draw out the parameter and modality of its functioning to scan, scrutinise and judge all the documents likely to be available from the sources of the foreign governments and from the internal sources of our Govt. If our Govt. make a determined and honest effort the proposed Investigative Inquiry will certainly succeed to finally let our countrymen know what really happened to our Netaji.

Unanswered still Remains the Questions !

Netaji is no longer any political challenge to anybody. He is also not dead legally. The issue is still open before the Govt. There is no proof of his death in the alleged air crash. There is no reports that he died elsewhere. There is no visual proof, as well, of his being alive. The longing question still remained unanswered. Then, what happened to our Netaji ?

Is he still languishing in the desolate cell of a Siberian Concentration Camp ? Has he been killed there by Stalin or did he die a gruelling death in a lonely cell ? Or, by the grace

of the Maha Shakti he always worshipped, has the revolutionary pilgrim of India succeeded to come out of the Russian Concentration Camp ? Is he now living incognito as a 'Sanyasin' - a supreme consummation of his spiritual aspiration from the days of his early youth ?

We do not know yet what really happened to Netaji. But it is a sacred national duty that we have failed so long to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Modern India. Will Shri Narasimha Rao, a former Freedom Fighter, rise above all small political considerations to accept the national task of finding what really happened to the Netaji of the Indian people ? If Shri Rao fulfills this task his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. If Gandhiji survived a few years more he would have raised storm in India to know the truth about Netaji, who 'gambled away his life' for the emancipation of his motherland. Let us not remain ungrateful to the epic hero of Indian freedom !

II

An Appeal To Boris Yeltsin

Mr. Boris Yeltsin
Hon'ble President
Federation of Russia
Moscow, Russia

Honourable Sir,

After the great non-violent democratic revolution in the former Soviet Union under your leadership, Indian people are watching the democratic developments in the Russian Federation and its sister States with deep interest. What has happened in the former USSR is a seismic event that has shaken the existing co-relations of the present politics of the modern world, opening a new vista of peace, amity and human rights before the whole humanity.

Indian relation with Russia had always been friendly, cordial and mutually trustworthy. Indian freedom movement received sustained support from Russia. Our greatest national revolutionary, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, showed consistent interest in cultivating Russian friendship for the cause of Indian freedom.

After his historic escape from the British India in January 1941, he intended to reach Moscow via Kabul. But, because of the policy of Stalin at that time, Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to divert his destination to Germany via Moscow to seek help of the "enemy's enemy" for ousting British Imperialism from India. He had to seek help of the Axis Power, though he was opposed to their ideology, for exploiting international enmity between Britain and Germany and also because of the fact that due to the Russo-German Pact, existing at that time, Germany was looked upon by him as an ally of Russia.

After the treacherous attack of Russia by Nazi Army in June 1941, the dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve Indian independence with the collaborative help of Russia and Germany was shattered. Sitting at the very den of Hitler, Subhas Bose, the intrepid Indian Revolutionary, dared to write to Hitler's Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop that "the Indian people

139
will view 'German attack' of Russia as an 'imperialist aggression.' Though Subhas Chandra Bose formed as Indian Legion in Germany, he never uttered a word in support of Nazi aggression of Russia, nor did he allow the Indian Legion to be used in anyway against the interest of Russia.

Being frustrated in Germany, Subhas Chandra Bose undertook an unthinkable hazard of 90 days Submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore. He created a saga of Revolutionary War of Indian Liberation against British Imperialism, the fiery impact of which ultimately compelled the British power to quit its Indian Empire after the War.

While waging 'War of Independence' against British Imperialism with the help of Japan, Subhas Chandra Bose never uttered a single word, nor did he do anything adversely against Russia or China. Rather, he always tried to maintain an attitude of friendship towards these two countries. His joining hands with Germany and Japan was motivated solely for winning Indian national independence.

When it became clear after fall of Germany that collapse of Japan was a matter of days, Subhas Chandra Bose contacted Mr. Jakob Malik, the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, for seeking asylum in Russia. After surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Tokyo Radio made a dubious broadcast on 23rd August circulating a story that Subhas Chandra Bose, the supreme leader of the Provisional Govt. of Free India, died in an aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei). But the report of Bose's death was not confirmed officially either by Japan or the U.K. nor also by the USA. Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and Adml. Mountbatten of the S.E. Asia Allied Command immediately ordered two separate inquiries to probe into the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's death. But their inquiries couldn't find any positive evidence to confirm Bose's death.

Subhas Chandra Bose made his flight from Saigon on Aug 17, 1945. His destination was Russia, via Dairen. According to the Mac Arthur's Inquiry Japan made a false broadcast on Aug 23, 1945 to comouflage Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russian Siberia via Dairen.

During the days of 1945-46 British Intelligence made many reports to the Viceroy of British India, that Subhas Chandra Bose under the cover of the story of his aircrash death had actually reached Russia. This report was corroborated by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul, and the Russian Consul General at Tehean in 1946. It was told by them that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

The Govt. of India instituted two inquiries to verify if the report of Bose's aircrash death was true. But these two inquiries failed to confirm Bose's death. All the high officers of Subhas Chandra Bose's Revolutionary Army (INA) and the Ministers of his Provisional Govt. of Free India and all the high ranking Jap Generals and Jap diplomats, who appeared before the two Indian inquiries, categorically stated that Bose's plan after fall of Japan was to go to Russia.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador to Moscow told his personal friend, Dr. Saroj Das of the University of Calcutta that he got the information that Subhas Chandra Bose was held in captivity in Soviet Russia by Stalin.

In 1975 the British Govt. published secret documents concerning 'Transfer of Power' to India. In it a specially important note, after analysing the pros and cons of various measures

how to punish Subhas Chandra Bose if he was arrested, recommended to the British Govt. in late 1945 that :

138

“...In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of Course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties.”

This note provides an authentic information that Bose took asylum in Russia after fall of Japan.

Another fact revealed is more startling. An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who was deputed by the Govt. of India to have training in machine building plant in Russia, was three times in Russia and knew Russian well. Mr. Sarkar worked in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city of Doniesk. He came in contact of a German – Jew there, who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant - Machinostroitelinizevod. His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany. He claimed that he met the Indian Revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose several times in Berlin.

Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken to Siberia in a train to an unknown place, from where he was flown to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said : ‘Sir, I have met you in Berlin’. Bose replied in his characteristic style : ‘Quite likely’. Bose then asked Zerobin : ‘What are you doing here?’ Replied Zerobin : ‘I don’t know what for.’ Zerobin again asked Bose: ‘What is your programme, Sir ? Are you going back to India’ ? Bose : ‘I expect it to be soon.’

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened : ‘Not allowed’.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of his meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both Zerobin and Sarkar will be seriously endangered in Russia. After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

Prof. Samar Guha, a former member of the Indian Parliament and three-term Chairman of its Privilege Committee, – the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament, wrote a long letter to Mr. Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose’s taking asylum in Russia after fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Mr. N.Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Gyani Zail Singh. A third letter was forwarded by the oldest President of Indian National Congress, Mr. S.Nijalingappa. Unfortunately, Mr. Gorbachev remained unresponsive.

A very important letter has been found out in 1991 in the archives of the US Princeton University, which confirmed the British report that Mahatma Gandhi knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia in 1946. This letter was written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist Louis Fischer, who worked as go-between Gandhi

and the US President. This letter was written on 22nd July, 1946. In it was written by Khurshed Behn, inter alia :

139
“.... At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose), if Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji, nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country”

Dear President Yeltsin ! We hope that you know how the Indian people hold Subhas Chandra Bose in their highest esteem as the greatest revolutionary of their national liberation. It was the saga of heroic exploits of the War of Indian Independence waged by Bose against the British Power that created such a tremendous anti-British upsurge in India after the Great War that it ultimately compelled the Britishers to withdraw from their Indian Empire. Mahatma Gandhi is hailed in India as the 'Father of the Nation' and in the same way Subhas Chandra Bose is acclaimed as 'The Netaji', — the supreme liberator of the Indian people.

It is not yet known what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose in Stalin's Russia. Many Indian Communist and Nationalist Revolutionaries were killed by Stalin. How Stalin treated Subhas Chandra Bose, the whole episode remained unrevealed.

Dear Mr. Yeltsin ! You have earned international admiration as the Liberator of the Russia people and a new harbinger of the message of peace, freedom and democracy for the humanity of our age. We beseech you to let the Indian people know what really happened to their beloved leader, their National Liberator, Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia after fall of Japan. Your Govt. is now disclosing all secret KGB files, Stalin's confidential archives and other hitherto unknown secret reports of Stalin's days. You have gracefully rehabilitated many eminent Russians and have given promise to the US people to find out if any US soldiers are left anywhere in the Russian territory.

India and Russia are two great friendly countries. The people of these two countries had never any conflict between them. If you reveal all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest hero of Indian liberation, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia, you will win the hearts of the millions of the people of our country. The Indian people are pinning for years to know what ultimately happened to their beloved leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Promethean Hero of their nation, after he took political asylum in Stalin's Russia.

We beseech you again President Yeltsin to let the Indian people know all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose after he sought political asylum in Stalin's Soviet Russia !

May God bless you, bless the Russian people ! May God be in your heart to impel you to reveal all truths about the most beloved leader of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose, since he reached Russia after fall of Japan.

With warmest greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
SAMAR GUHA

Price Rs. 15/-



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
December 11, 1992

Dear Uparashtrapatiji,

I have received your letter of 9th December, 1992
forwarding Prof. Samar Guha's letter about Netaji.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

[P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Shri K.R. Narayanan
Vice President of India
New Delhi

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